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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

BLUE QUILLS: A CASE STUDY OF INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLING

by

© DIANE IONA PERSSON

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled BLUE QUILLS: A CASE STUDY OF INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLING submitted by DIANE IONA PERSSON in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY in ANTHROPOLOGY AND EDUCATION.

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ABSTRACT

Until the 1970's residential schools were one type of educational system available to Indian children. Together with reserve schools and provincial public schools they formed the range of educational services offered to native people by the Canadian federal government. This study examines the Blue Quills Indian Residential School in northeastern Alberta, the first school in Canada to be administered by native people.

Although the federal government formulated policy regarding Indian education, in many residential schools this policy was implemented by Catholic and Protestant church groups. Blue Quills was a Roman Catholic school staffed by a principal from the Oblate Fathers and women from the Grey Nuns.

This study examines the historical development of the school during the period 1931 to 1971 from the perspectives of (a) the Indian community, including students who attended the school and their families; (b) the Roman Catholic Church, as represented by the Oblates and the Grey Nuns; and (c) the federal government, including the Indian Affairs Branch and employees of this department.

It has been noted that few studies of Indian residential schools have focused on the organization of the school. This study concentrates on the structure of Blue Quills as a total institution characterized by a staff world and an inmate world to explain relationships between the three previously mentioned groups. This organizational structure is placed within the framework of conflict theory. The ways in which staff and inmates generate and regulate conflict are elucidated. Political change and reserve development are suggested as contributing to the sit-in and subsquent take-over of the school by the Indian community.

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The financial burden of doing this study was eased by the J. S. Ewart Memorial Fund, the Boreal Institute for Northern Studies, and a University of Alberta Dissertation Fellowship. This support has been appreciated.

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Dr. Carl Urion was instrumental in establishing my doctoral program, and in socializing me into the field of native education by arranging for me to teach at Blue Quills. Professor Marilyn Assheton-Smith has given freely of her time and sociological insights on conflict theory.

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I. INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

In the summer of 1970 a number of Indians from the Saddle Lake Agency in northeastern Alberta occupied the Blue Quills Indian Residential School.[1] They were asking to operate the school themselves under federal jurisdiction. After meetings the Minister and Indian Affairs officials announced that control over the operation of the school would be transferred to the newly created Blue Quills Native Education Council which was made up of Indians from the Saddle Lake Reserve and other reserves in northeastern Alberta. What led up to this confrontation between the native community and the federal government?

Introducing this study, the present chapter includes a statement of the problem and a discussion of the background of the study. The theoretical and methodological aspects of the study are discussed, and the chapter concludes with a review of related studies and a summary outlining the subsequent chapters of the study.

---

[1] The school was named after Chief Blue Quill and was known as Blue Quill's School. Shortly before moving to its present site in 1931 the possesive form was dropped, resulting in Blue Quills School. The study uses this later form which has been accepted as the school's formal name.

A. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This is a case study concerned with the participation of Indian people in the Indian Affairs Branch school system and their relationship to the agencies which control Indian education,[2] specifically their relationship to those orders of the Roman Catholic Church associated with the Blue Quills School--the Oblates and the Grey Nuns. The thesis of the study is that historically the Indians have resisted government and church controls. The focus of the study is the nature of the resulting conflict, the way in which it was generated, its regulation in the residential school over a forty year period, and its contemporary resolution. One essential component of this resistance and conflict is the changing relationship between the church and the Indian Affairs Branch in their participation in the school, and this forms a major part of this study.

The study is organized chronologically and data were gathered to answer the following questions:

1. What was the federal government's policy on Indian education?
    a. What was the relationship between the Department of Indian Affairs and its local representatives, and the religious orders who operated the school?
    b. What was the relationship between the department and the Indian students and community?
2. How did the religious orders associated with the school implement the government's education policy?

---

[2] Blue Quills was a residential school for children recognized as Indian under the terms of the Indian Act. Enfranchised Indians or Metis rarely attended the school since admission as a grant-receiving student was subject to approval by the Indian Affairs Branch. The term Indian as used in this study refers to status Indians; native refers to all people of Indian ancestry.

   a. What was the relationship between the religious orders and the lay teachers and staff?
   b. What was the relationship between the religious orders and the Department of Indian Affairs?
   c. What was the relationship between the religious orders and the pupils and parents?

3. How did the Indian students participate in the school?
   a. What was the students' relationship to their family and community?
   b. What kind of contact did the students have with the department?
   c. How did the students relate to each other in the school?
   d. How did the students relate to the teachers and staff?
   e. What did the religious experience mean to the students?
   f. What was the students' relationship with (i) other Indian schools and with (ii) non-Indian towns and schools nearby?
   g. How did the students participate in the school in terms of attendance rates, absenteeism, and grade level attained?

4. What led up to the 1970 confrontation between the native community and the government?

As the questions indicate, this study focuses on three groups: (1) the native community, as represented by the students and their parents; (2) the state, as represented by the federal government department concerned with Indian Affairs and its local officials; and (3) the church, as represented by the two Roman Catholic religious communities of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate and the Grey Nuns. The significant events of the school are discussed according to each of these groups.

There are three data chapters arranged chronologically to form an ethnographic description of the school over time. Chapter II, "Civilization Through Isolation," covers the period from 1890 to 1945. Chapter III, "Assimilation Through

Integration," is concerned with the period 1945 to 1960. Chapter IV, "The Church Replaced," covers the period 1960 to 1971. Topics covered in each of these data chapters will be responses to the questions previously stated.

B. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Blue Quills Indian Residential School is located in Alberta, 205 km. (128 mi.) northeast of Edmonton, and 5 km. (3 mi.) west of St. Paul; see Figure 1. The school opened in December of 1931 at which time it was owned and funded by the federal government, administered by priests from the Oblate order, and staffed by women from the Grey Nuns. In 1971 it was transferred to the control of the Blue Quills Native Education Council, becoming the first Indian school in Canada to be administered by Indian people.

The school was built to serve those among the Indian population of the area who professed Roman Catholicism.[3] The reserves from which Blue Quills procured students were: Saddle Lake Indian Reserve #125, Puskiakiwenin Indian

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[3] The percentage of Indians on each reserve belonging to the Roman Catholic Church and other Protestant denominations was not determined. However the 1930 Annual Report of the Indian Affairs Branch records the number of Indians in Alberta as Roman Catholic, 63 per cent, Anglican 17 per cent, United Church 12 per cent, Aboriginal Beliefs 3 per cent, and other Christian Beliefs 1 per cent; 4 per cent were unrecorded. The Roman Catholic Church operated more residential schools than did Protestant denominations. For example, the Annual Report of 1935 lists 19 residential schools in Alberta; 12 were operated by the Roman Catholic Church, 5 by the Church of England, and 2 by the United Church.

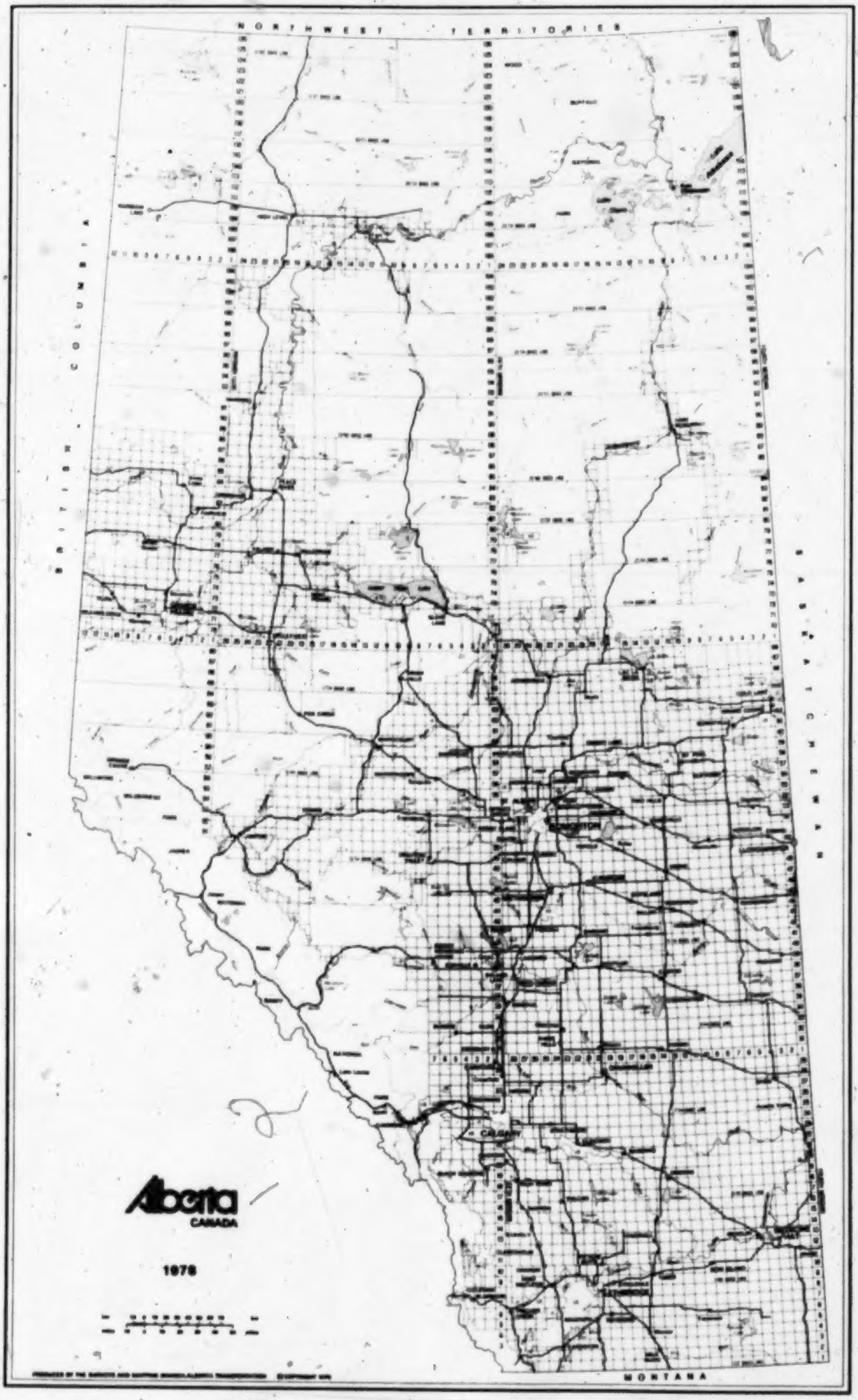


FIG. 1 PROVINCE OF ALBERTA

Reserve #122 and Unipauheos Indian Reserve #121,[4] Beaver Lake Indian Reserve #131, Whitefish Lake Indian Reserve #128,[5] Kehewin Indian Reserve #123, and Cold Lake Indian Reserves #149, 149A, and 149B.[6] The Cold Lake Reserves are primarily Chipewyan-speaking with a Cree-speaking minority, while the others are wholly Cree-speaking. The population for 1971 are Saddle Lake Reserve 2,621, Frog Lake Reserves 628, Kehewin Reserve 509, Cold Lake Reserves 866, and Whitefish Lake Reserve 484. These reserves and the other communities relevant to the study can be found in Figure 2.

The Indians in this area are descendants of the signatories of Treaty Six of 1876. In return for lands surrendered and for maintaining peace, Treaty #6 provided Indians with reserved land, a small cash annuity, agricultural assistance, and teachers when requested by the Indians.[7] Although students were admitted from all reserves

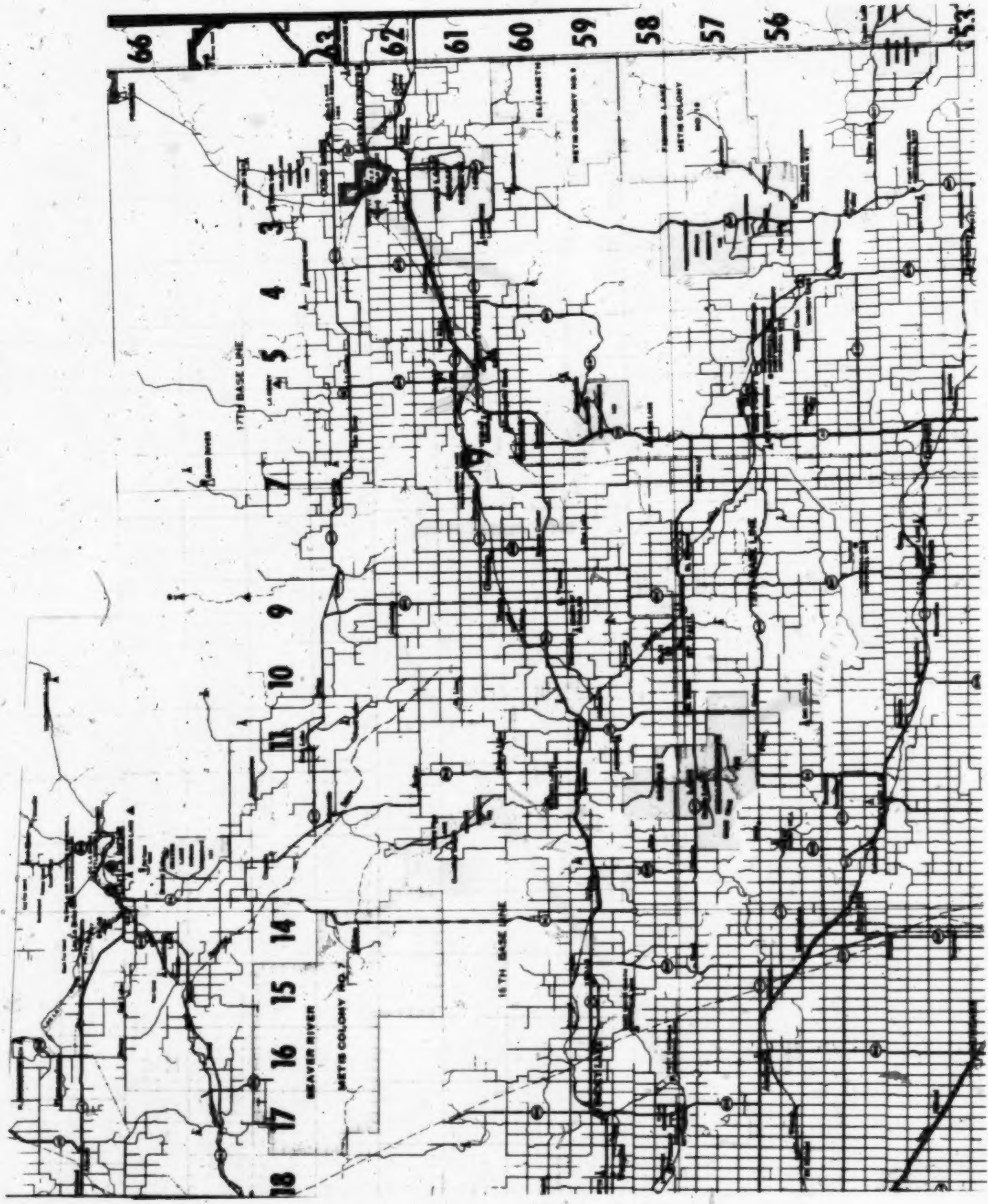
---

[4] The Puskiakiwenin and Unipauheos Reserves surround Frog Lake and are commonly referred to as north Frog Lake and south Frog Lake Reserves respectively.

[5] Whitefish Lake Indian Reserve receives its name from the lake on its northwestern side. Goodfish Lake touches the reserve on its southwest side and gives the village on the reserve its name.

[6] The Cold Lake Indian Reserves are commonly separated by referring to other names close by; 149 is known as Le Goff, 149A as Cold Lake, and 149B as English Bay.

[7] For details of Treaty Six see Alexander Morris, The Treaties of Canada with the Indians (Toronto: Coles Publishing, 1979; originally published 1880); Richard Price (editor), The Spirit of the Alberta Treaties (Toronto: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1979); Saddle Lake Indian Reserve, O-Sak-Do: Treaty No. 6 Centennial Commemoration Tabloid (Saddle Lake, Alberta, 1976); Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College, Treaty Six (Saskatoon: Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College, 1976).



(from Alberta Provincial Base Map, 1977)

FIG. 2 NORTHEASTERN ALBERTA

identified in Figure 2, more than half came from Saddle Lake.[8] Consequently this study focuses on the Saddle Lake Reserve more than other reserves in the area.

The predecessor of the present Blue Quills School was La Mission Notre Dame des Victoires which was at Lac La Biche. The Oblates built the school and, with the Grey Nuns serving as teachers, opened it in 1862. In 1898 the students and staff of this mission were moved to a new boarding school on the Saddle Lake Reserve.

In 1922 it was suggested that the government build a boarding school at Saddle Lake for the Roman Catholic children of northern Alberta. Other possibilities such as building a new 200 student school close to a railway station rather than on the reserve were also mentioned. Building a new school on the reserve became less likely following a land surrender in 1925 when Saddle Lake Reserve was opened to non-Indian settlement. Then on 9 October 1928 the Department (of the Interior) decided to acquire section 11, township 58, range 10, west of the 4th meridian for the purposes of building a school, the Blue Quills Indian Residential School.

From 1930 to the early 1950's Blue Quills School program was a half day of school and half day of work for children over 10 years of age. In 1951 the school also began to function as a hostel as students of school leaving age were permitted to stay at the school while taking their grades 8 to 12 by correspondence. By 1955 when the federal government policy of integration of Indian pupils was introduced students were bussed into St. Paul to attend the local Catholic school for their grades 9, 10, 11 and 12. The 1960's saw a reduced emphasis on the residential role of the school because more students were being bussed to Blue Quills daily directly from the surrounding reserves. The power of the church was lessened during this period because of increasing government controls and in 1969 the non-teaching staff and the principal became members of the federal Public Service. The federal government's White Paper of 1969, the Indian Association of Alberta's Red Paper, and the rumor that during the summer of 1970 that Blue Quills was to be closed down and students integrated into existing schools were the final events leading to a confrontation in the summer of 1970 between the Indian people of the area and the federal government. One outcome of the confrontation was the government's agreement that the newly formed Blue Quills Native Education Council might assume responsibility for the school.

---

[8] When admissions were tabulated for the period 1933 to 1953, percentages were as follows: Saddle Lake Reserve 54.8%, Cold Lake Reserves 20.5%, Beaver Lake Reserve 8.4%, Whitefish Lake Reserve 7.1%, and from other reserves 9.2%. The distribution of students from Cold Lake and Saddle Lake remained constant. Of the number of admissions from 1966 to 1968, 54% came from Saddle Lake, 23% from Cold Lake, 8% from Frog Lake, 5% from [illegible]win, and 13% from other reserves.

C. THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Theoretical Background

The theoretical model and epistemological assumptions of this study are those of conflict theory.[9] By emphasizing the discord and differences found in the school, the organization of the institution and relationships within it can be analyzed in terms of instability and change. Conflict theory is based on the assumption that social organization is characterized by an unequal distribution of power.[10] Power is the probability of having one's will carried out despite resistance from others.[11] It is formally defined as "*the undertaking and the effective capability of one agent to impose his action on one or more agents, overcoming the resistance which might be offered by agents, so that they are affected in the manner intended by the first agent*."[12]

This is a diachronic descriptive study of federal government policy changes and their impact from 1867 to 1969. The role of the Roman Catholic religious orders in administering these policies in carrying out their religious and educational mission to the local Indian population vis-a-vis the residential school is also examined. A conflict model organizes this descriptive historical data by focusing on social structure and group interaction over time.

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[9] see Ralf Dahrendorf, *Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959).

[10] Ralf Dahrendorf, "Toward a Theory of Social Conflict," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* II (1959), p. 176.

[11] Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (translated by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons) (Toronto: Collier-Macmillan, 1947), p. 152.

[12] Pierre Dandurand, "Education and Power," in *Education, Change, and Society: A Sociology of Canadian Education*, ed. R. A. Carlton, L. A. Colley, and N. J. MacKinnon (Toronto: Gage, 1977), pp. 63-64, emphasis in original.

Although it is possible to define the term group in a number of ways, for the purpose of this study "group" is used in the sense of solidarity groups. These are "collections of individuals who think in terms of the effect of political decisions on the aggregate and feel that they are in some way personally affected by what happens to the aggregate."[13] Groups do not necessarily imply exclusiveness or homogeneity, and in some cases they over-lap. For example, a Grey Nun teacher at Blue Quills would likely affiliate with the group defined as "Roman Catholic religious orders" rather than with the groups which could be defined as "professional teacher" or "school staff." Her identification with and support for the church as an institution and of its goals would preclude general support for either professional goals or school employees. Even so, groups may differ in their cohesiveness and there may be intra-group conflict, but group solidarity is enhaced by symbolic expressions of the group as a collectivity, by common treatment as a group by others, and by a common style of life, norms, and values, and a high rate of interaction.

The major groups used in this study are: (1) the government agency responsible for administration of Indian matters, the Department or the Indian Affairs Branch; (2)

---

[13] William A. Gamson, Power and Discontent (Homewood: Dorsey Press, 1968), p. 35.

the Roman Catholic orders affiliated with the school and their hierarchies; and (3) the Indian school community, the various students and their parents. The most visible protagonists were these three groups each with its own mixture of intra-group conflict and group solidarity. Throughout the time period of the study the groups changed, structurally and demographically, and their roles as protagonists within the school changed. The nature of this change is the subject of the three data chapters.

Conflict surrounded the relations of the three groups in the school. The generation of and regulation of conflict may be examined by regarding the school as a kind of total institution. The residential school is an example of that class of institution described by Erving Goffman as "establishments whose total character is symbolized by the barrier to social intercourse with the outside and to departure that is often built right into the physical plant."[14] The form of the institution both creates and regulates conflict.

The residential school has three important features which are found in Goffman's description of a total institution: ~~(1)~~ all aspects of life are supervised; (2)all aspects of life are collective; and (3) there is a split between a large managed group and a small supervisory staff. In the case of Blue Quills all three of these characteristics are evident. The characteristics of the staff/student split are presented in the three following data chapters and analyzed in Chapter V.

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[14] Erving Goffman, Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates (Chicago: Aldine, 1961), p. 4.

Conflict in the school was caused and regulated by the conflicting relations of the three groups involved in the school, Indian Affairs, the Catholic religious orders, Indian parents, children and band communities. The latter group, the Indians, responded to the situation through acquiesence (or acceptance) and resistance. Acquiesence or acceptance could be manifested in many ways.[15] For students, the range of responses to the school's purposes were from cooperation to simply going through the motion in obedience to institutional demands. Similarly, resistance could take a variety of forms, and included running away from the school or returning to the reserve, and negating what residential schooling attempted to accomplish.

The school staff and the religious orders used various mechanisms such as insulation, sanctions, and persuasion to control conflict.[16] One of these social control mechanisms, insulation, occurs when differences in power result in a denial of access to the powerful. At Blue Quills this took the form of isolating students from staff, from their family and from the larger society. Sanctions are a form of social control where rewards and punishments are used to control individuals or groups. Rewards could be food or special work assignments; punishments were often beatings. Another social control mechanisms is persuasion, where the powerful attempt to maintain control by altering the attitudes of the less powerful. This mechanism was the all-encompassing religious and educational components of the school.

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[15] Peter Carstens, "Coercion and Change," in Canadian Society: Pluralism, Change, and Conflict, ed. Richard J. Ossenberg (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1971), pp. 126-145.

[16] see Gamson, p. 180; James S. Frideres, Canada's Indians: Contemporary Conflicts (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1974), pp. 188-190.

Social control may also be achieved by co-optation and participation in decision making.[17] This has been called conflict absorption,[18] a situation in which conflict is neither suppressed nor allowed to bring about any substantial changes in the social structure. For example, the church organized the Catholic Indian League and the department supported Indian school committees. This study suggests that, in the later time period, conflict absorption was an important aspect of relations between students, staff and parents, and government and church.

Methodology

The methods of this study are those of ethnohistory. Fenton calls ethnohistory the fulfillment of the statement by Maitland that "anthropology has the choice of being history or being nothing."[19] While it may be somewhat of an overstatement to claim ethnohistory as the elixir of all anthropological ills, the approach does have its own merit.

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[17] Gamson, p. 75.

[18] Eva Etzioni-Halevy, "Patterns of Conflict Generation and Conflict 'Absorption': the Cases of Israeli Labor and Ethnic Conflicts," Journal of Conflict Resolution 19 (1975), pp. 286-309.

[19] William N. Fenton, "Ethnohistory and Its Problems," Ethnohistory 9 (1962), p. 4.

Sturtevant has suggested three characteristics which are distinctive of ethnohistory: it focuses on an institution's past, it uses oral or written traditions as the primary data source, and it emphasizes the diachronic dimension of culture.[20] Carmack in reviewing ethnohistory suggests that it is more a methodological approach than a theory, that it "is a special set of techniques and methods for studying culture through the use of written and oral traditions."[21]

Ethnohistory is the use of written historical materials in preparing an ethnography and the use of a people's oral literature in reconstruction of their own history. Valentine has written "It is proposed that systematically planned alternation between fieldwork and archival research be treated as a methodological model for one important kind of ethnohistorical investigation."[22]

Difficulties found in oral history suggest the importance of using written documents and informants' traditions to fill in each others' gaps, provide an alternate explanation to an event, and thus result in a more comprehensive picture being obtained.[23] Valentine's work on the Lakalai of New Guinea is a good case in point.[24] "Ethnohistory, then, is that sub-branch of ethnology which employs historiographical methods to lay a foundation for the formulation of general laws: in a word, ideographic means to nomothetic ends."[25] The research here has been conducted with these ethnohistorical guidelines.

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[20] William C. Sturtevant, "Anthropology, History and Ethnohistory," in Introduction to Cultural Anthropology, ed. James A. Clifton (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1968), pp. 451-475.

[21] Robert M. Carmack, "Ethnohistory: A Review of its Development, Definitions, Methods, and Aims," in Annual Review of Anthropology, vol. 1, 1972, ed. B. J. Siegel, A. R. Beals, and S. A. Tyler (Palo Alto: Annual Reviews, 1972), p. 232.

[22] C. A. Valentine, "Symposium on the Concept of Ethnohistory--Comment," Ethnohistory 8 (1961), p. 277.

Documentary material was derived from the following sources: Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa; Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in Ottawa, Edmonton, and St. Paul; Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton; Grey Nun Archives, Edmonton; Archives Deschatelets, Ottawa. Newspaper sources were the Edmonton Journal and St. Paul Journal.

The material was used to provide a description of the interactions of the three groups in relation to the school, and a description of in-school activity over time. These documents deal with the roles of the department and the church. The newspaper material documents the wider non-Indian community's perspective of the school, and provides a description of the social milieu in which Blue Quills was located.

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[23] see Jan Vansina, Oral Tradition, a Study in Historical Methodology (Chicago: Aldein, 1961); Jean Elaine Mann Kendal, "Oral Sources and Historical Studies," (M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1976).

[24] C. A. Valentine, "Uses of Ethnohistory in an Acculturation Study," Ethnohistory 7 (1960), pp. 1-23.

[25] Harold Hickerson, The Chippewa and Their Neighbors: A Study in Ethnohistory (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), p. 7.

Using the idea that interviewing is "conversation with a purpose," 51 interviews of approximately one hour each were conducted with former school members, staff, and other appropriate individuals from the surrounding community, in the summer of 1978.[26] The majority of these were tape recorded on the reserves from which Blue Quills drew its students--Saddle Lake, Whitefish Lake, Cold Lake, and Kehewin. The interviews were relatively unstructured, although similar questions were covered with each informant. This included their personal background (reserve, school years attended, reason for going, other family members at school), what they were taught (academic and vocational areas, language, sports, clubs), their perception of teachers, discipline, religious life at the school, residential life, their relationship to their family (visiting, family's view of school), relationship with nearby towns and other schools, their views of the take-over in 1970, and general views on integration, the effectiveness of residential schools, and local control.

As an ethnohistory, this study integrates these two data sources, interviews and archival data. The archival material provides a description and interpretation of school events by employees of the department and by members of the church. Informant interviews provide a portrait and explanation of school events as experienced by students and staff. Occasionally these sources overlap and agree; more often they provide information differing in style and content. By synthesizing these two data sources, a more complete portrait of the school is provided.

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[26] A list of individuals interviewed is found in Appendix A.

D. RELATED STUDIES

A review of the literature indicates that there are few studies of Indian residential schools per se.[27] Of them, Richard King's The School at Mopass,[28] and four unpublished master's and doctoral theses dealing with residential schools will be examined. The theses include Ryan's "The Carlisle Indian Industrial School," Kennedy's "Qu'Appelle Industrial School," Wasylow's "History of Battleford Industrial School for Indians," and Colfer's "An Ethnography of Leaderlong Indian School."[29]

Ryan traces the history of the Carlisle school between 1879, when it became the first off-reserve school for Indians in the United States, to 1918, when the school was returned to military use as an army hospital. She cites four causes for Carlisle's historical decline. First, the founder of the school, Richard Henry Pratt, failed to win and hold a strong following for his ideas and he alienated members of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Second, when Pratt was forced to resign in 1904, he left an inadequate administration. Third, Carlisle failed because it was not incorporated into the larger educational system of the Bureau; and fourth, "Carlisle failed to survive because Lt. Pratt's ideals were too high and somewhat questionable."[30] Ryan's study is an example of one individual portrayed as defining the course of events. It is not significant that the students were Indian, since they were ignored or discussed only in terms of their reaction to events. Although Ryan says "Throughout Carlisle's existence the problem of runaways had been ever-present,"[31] this phenomenon is not discussed at length as an important event nor is it placed within any larger context regarding the school.

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[27] For example of one of them, see Francis La Flesche, The Middle Five: Indian Schoolboys of the Omaha Tribe (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1963; org. pub. 1900). A number of studies include discussions of residential schools. See Murray L. Wax, Rosalie H. Wax, and Robert Dumont, "Formal Education in an American Indian Community." Social Problems 11 (1964), pp. 1-126.

[28] Richard King, The School at Mopass (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967).

[29] Carmelita S. Ryan, "The Carlisle Indian Industrial School," (Ph.D. dissertation, Georgetown University, 1962); Jacqueline Judith Kennedy, "Qu'Appelle Industrial School: White 'Rites' for Indians of the Old North-West," (M.A. thesis, Carleton University, 1970); Walter Julian Wasylow, "History of the Battleford Industrial School for Indians," (M.Ed. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1972); Carol Jean Pierce Colfer, "An Ethnography of Leaderlong Indian School," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1974).

King subtitles his study "a problem of identity" as an indication his emphasis. He gives a general account of non-Indians' settlement of the Yukon and he claims that a valid description of Yukon Indian groups today (1967) is Lewis' "culture of poverty." He then uses an explanation based on discontinuity in socialization to describe Indian children's school experience, in which their home emphasizes values which are not supported by the school. King says that the home environment of the child provides his/her basic security and identity while at the same time instilling a basic insecurity and tentative identity. He describes the residential school for Indian children as being very similar to an efficient cattle ranch or dairy farm ~~in~~ which valued animals are carefully nurtured. The major difference between them, suggests King, is that a well run stock farm would keep better records.[32] After examining student-staff relations and the Indian child's rejection of such a school, King writes "An inevitable conclusion is that the organized purveyors of Christianity bear the brunt of responsibility for the nonfunctional adaptation of Indians in today's Yukon society."[33] The antidotes which King proposes for this maladaptation include the total elimination of sectarian Indian education, the recognition of all school personnel as teachers, changes in government attitudes toward native people and their schooling, and efforts to involve Indians in education as well as community therapy.[34]

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[30] Ryan, p. 283.
[31] Ibid., p. 220.

Kennedy's thesis claims to combine "the cautious accuracy of the historian with the imaginative theorizing of the social scientist."[35] The author proposes two theoretical models. The first one is directed acculturation "where one group predominates over another who (sic) is politically dependent,"[36] and the second is Van Gennep's model of rites of passage as it "provides convenient symbolic correlates for the missionary-administrators' combinations of cosmic and social passages for their students."[37] Evidence for Indian resistance to acculturation is provided in her discussion of the persistance of the Sun Dance of the Qu'Appelle Cree. She suggests that training in English and alienation from the tribal culture through industrial school attendance facilitated the spread of dancing rather than restricting its spread. Her use of Van Gennep's model is sporadic at best, and its validity as an explanatory tool is limited in this particular study, as the author never explains how rites of passage were part of residential schooling. Reference is made to the relationship between industrial school curriculum and sex roles, which unfortunately is not pursued. As well, her statement that those who attended industrial schools were "female, sick and orphaned,"[38] requires quantitative support.

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[32] King, p. 55.
[33] Ibid., p. 89.
[34] Ibid., pp. 90-91.
[35] Kennedy, p. 3.
[36] Ibid., p. 4.

Wasylow's study is an historical compilation of data chronologically arranged. Its purpose is "to examine the development and effect of educational policies that established, supported, and closed Industrial Schools for Indians,"[39] especially the Battleford Industrial School in Saskatchewan during the years 1883 to 1914. Interesting information is presented but left undeveloped. For example, "The inspector observed that white servants should be employed in the school to discourage Indians from getting odd jobs available at school thereby preventing them from passing secret messages to the students."[40] The Riel Rebellion is said to have disrupted the school but little more is mentioned about it. Until 1895 Battleford Industrial School was directly controlled by the government, when it was passed to the Church of England. Again, the significance of this change is not discussed. Questions Wasylow poses at the outset, such as "how were educational duties performed at Battleford Industrial School by the Church of England" and "how did the educational policies of the federal government affect the school" are not answered specifically.

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[37] Ibid., p. 8.
[38] Ibid., p. 182.
[39] Wasylow, p. 2.

Colfer's ethnography of Leaderlong Indian School, unlike the Wasylow study, is based explicitly on a research model. The data are organized around a model which is based on dimensions of Yankee versus Amerindian values. For example, the Yankee orientation toward work is that success will be achieved by hard work; the Amerindian view is that one should work to satisfy present needs and that accumulating more is selfish, stingy, or bigoted.[41] Colfer discusses Leaderlong student experiences using something she calls a 2^6 Rule. This rule states that the number of learning experiences an individual can handle is 2^6. She claims Indian socialization or learning is continuous and that it does not expose the individual to the maximum number of experiences (2^6). Non-Indian socialization is discontinuous; it fragments and compartmentalizes experiences and thus reaches 2[6] more often than Indian socialization. The Indian socialization for continuity does not prepare the Indian child for the numerical complexity of non-Indian life. "Arrival at Leaderlong places them in a situation of incredible numerical complexity with which they have no experience."[42] The Indian student can either constrict this outlook and return home untouched, or muddle around the school in confusion. Colfer criticizes King's study of Mopass saying it is hampered by the importance attributed to the Anglican church's role, by avoiding mention of the existence of "deviant" employees, and avoiding the student identity problem. She sees her own analysis as substituting "the culture contact situation itself for King's Indian identity problem,"[43] as being more useful.

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[40] Ibid., p. 66.
[41] Colfer, p. 11.

These studies rely on an acculturation framework, one which is descriptive rather than analytic, synchronic rather than diachronic, and consensus rather than conflict oriented. In spite of the usefulness of the primary data in such studies, they help little in explaining why events occurred. None of the studies look to the particular organization of residential schools as prescribing relations between students and staff.

The approach outlined in the present study attempts to take some of the limitations of these related studies into account. First, both description and analysis are presented within the three data chapters. Each data chapter might stand on its own and yet is interrelated with the other two. Second, this study is diachronic, covering the period 1931 to 1971. The changes in native education during these years are significant in understanding the events which occurred. Third, the study is conflict oriented. The essentially descriptive framework of a total institution is placed within the assumptions of conflict theory.

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[42] Ibid., p. 167.
[43] Ibid., p. 177.

E. SUMMARY

This chapter is designed to provide an introduction and overview of the study. Part one, the statement of the problem, presented the thesis of the study and the rationale which will be explicated throughout the following chapters. Part two, the background of the study, identified the school population and gave an historical sketch of Blue Quills. Part three, theoretical and methodological considerations, presented the underlying theoretical framework upon which the study is based and discussed the methodology and data used. Part four, related studies, presented a brief description and analysis of existing case studies of Indian residential schools.

II. CIVILIZATION THROUGH ISOLATION

This chapter covers the period from the mid 1800's to the mid 1940's. It attempts to establish the position of the government, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Indian community. Therefore, the first three sections of the chapter are devoted to a discussion of the philosophy and legal position of each group relative to native education.

Following this, the precursors of the Blue Quills Indian Residential School will be developed chronologically. It had its origin in La Mission Notre Dame des Victoires which operated in Lac La Biche from 1857 to 1898, and in the Blue Quills School of the Sacred Heart Mission, which was open on the Saddle Lake Reserve from 1898 to 1931.

The residential school which opened in 1931 will be discussed in terms of parental involvement. The formal structure and administration of the school will be documented, and the changing relations between the church and the Indian Affairs Branch will be discussed.

A. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT POLICY AND INDIAN EDUCATION

This overview of federal government policy will be brief; detailed discussions can be found in other sources.[44]

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[44] See, for example, H. J. Vallery, "A History of Indian Education in Canada" (M.A. thesis, Queen's University, 1942); Robert J. Carney, "Relations in Education Between the Federal and Territorial Governments and the Roman Catholic

The purpose of this historical sketch is to provide the background for the establishing of Blue Quills School in 1931. Developments in Indian educational policy will be outlined with particular reference to the school. As this chapter is concerned with events to 1945, subsequent changes in federal government policy will be dealt with in chapters III and IV.

Legislation Between 1867 and 1920

When Canada came into existence as a nation in 1867, Section 91 of the British North America Act placed legislative authority over Indians and all matters relating to Indian lands in the hands of the federal government. Consequently, Indian affairs have since that time been considered the responsibility of the federal government.

After the Northwest was incorporated into the Dominion of Canada in 1870, the government began to negotiate treaties with the Indians living in the region. "The drive towards the northwest was inspired by the potential land for settlement and resources for exploitation, and the hoped-for trade which such settlement and resource exploitation could be expected to generate."[45] Treaty Six was signed with the Plains and Wood Cree of central Alberta and Saskatchewan in

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[44] (cont'd)Church in the Mackenzie District, Northwest Territories, 1867-1961" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1971); E. R. Daniels, "The Legal Context of Indian Education in Canada" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1973).

[45] John Leonard Taylor, "Two Views on the Meaning of Treaties Six and Seven," in The Spirit of the Alberta Indian Treaties, ed. Richard Price (Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1979), p. 12.

1876.

Pre-Confederation and later Indian legislation is found in the Indian Act of 1876 which consolidated laws already in existence. Sections 114 through 123 of the Indian Act are concerned specifically with education, and topics such as school regulations, attendance, and religious denominations are covered within those sections.

Initially the aim of education was to prepare the Indians for conversion to a Christian lifestyle and an end to their wardship status, thereby making them full British subjects. A later writer stated "The policy of 'the Bible and the plough' continued to be that of the Indian Affairs Branch into the mid-twentieth century."[46] In school this policy was implemented through the four R's of "reading, 'riting, 'rithmetic and religion."[47]

The results desired from the educational process in the Indian Act of 1876 was the end of Indian special status in the British North America Act by enfranchisement.[48] Indeed, an Indian receiving a university degree became enfranchised automatically. This provision was changed with the Act of 1880 which allowed individuals to petition to the Superintendent-General to become enfranchised. This modification indicated recognition that enforced enfranchisement when linked to specific educational qualifications was perhaps both unworkable and undesirable.[49]

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[46] E. Palmer Patterson II, The Canadian Indian: A History Since 1500 (Don Mills: Collier-Macmillan Canada, 1972), p. 122.

[47] Daniels, p. 77.

[48] Enfranchisement is loss of Indian status, lands, and privileges and the benefits of treaty status, and acceptance of the responsibilities of taxation and franchise.

The Indian Advancement Act of 1884 was subtitled "An Act for conferring certain privileges on the more advanced bands of the Indians of Canada, with view of training them for the exercise of municipal powers." The Act allowed bands to choose which church would be involved in the education of their children and it said:

> The religious denominations to which the teacher or teachers of the school or schools established on the reserve shall belong, as being that of the majority of the Indians resident on the reserve; but the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority on the reserve may also have a separate school or schools, with the approval of and under regulations made by the Governor in Council.[50]

Although the legislation was straightforward, its interpretation by Indian agents, inspectors and principals of boarding schools was not always in keeping with its spirit. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1890, circular no. 237, reminded those involved in Indian education "that this Department insists upon strict neutrality being maintained by its Officers and Employees with regard to religious matters, and will not tolerate any difference of treatment based directly or indirectly upon Denominational prejudice."[51]

In 1894 regulations were added providing for compulsory school attendance and for establishment of industrial or boarding schools.[52] Additionally,

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[49] Ibid., p. 95.
[50] Canada, 47 Victoria, c. 28, s. 10, 1884.
[51] Public Archives of Canada, R. G. 10, Vol. 6347, file 751-10, part 2, 31 October 1890.

> The Governor in Council may make regulations which shall have the force and law, for the committal by justices or Indian agents of children of Indian blood under the age of sixteen years, to such industrial school or boarding school, there to be kept, cared for and educated for a period not extending beyond the time at which such children shall reach the age of eighteen years.[53]

The department was now able to educate Indian children without their parents' consent, and punitive regulations were provided for parents and children who did not cooperate with the department in this regard.

The Indian Act of 1906 was the first to contain specific sections under the heading of "Schools." In 1920 far reaching changes were made in the sections dealing with education, and regulations were incorporated into the Act which empowered the Governor in Council to make regulations securing school attendance, establishing industrial schools, and applying children's individual annuities towards their maintenance at school. The Superintendent-General was also empowered to provide transportation to school, set curriculum and enforce attendance by means of truant officers and penalties.

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[52] Industrial schools were schools with boarding facilities located on or off the reserves. These schools adhered to the proposition that if Indians were to be civilized, it was best accomplished by removing them from their home environment and exposing them to a work/factory program. See, for example, T. R. Morrison, "Reform as Social Tracking: the Case of Industrial Education in Ontario 1879-1900," Journal of Educational Thought 8 (1974), pp. 87-110.

[53] Canada, 57-58 Victoria, c. 32, s. 138(2), 1894.

Philosophical Comments

The policy developed by the government including education was to civilize[54] the Indians and to assimilate them into the non-Indian community. Civilizing implied "raising" the intellectual and moral level of Indians to prepare them for the status of non-Indians. Once civilizing had been carried out, it was assumed that assimilation would be automatic.

How was the government goal of assimilation reflected in education? Legislation linking education with enfranchisement, the loss of Indian status, was one example. Another example was the paternalistic ideology of the government. This led to the situation where Indians were confined to their reserves and kept relatively isolated from the larger civilized community. "The reserve system, which was to be the keystone of Canada's Indian Policy, was conceived as a social laboratory, where the Indian could be 'civilized' and prepared for coping with the Europeans."[55] An idea prevalent in administering Indian affairs was protecting Indians from the dominant society, and protecting the dominant society from the Indians. The reserve was to provide protection from the cradle to the grave. Under these circumstances, schooling extended to Indians within the confines of the reserves was itself confronted with the surviving Indian ways of life, and was kept separate from other Canadian ways of life. Hawthorn says of the educational policy of this period, "This isolationist, protectionist, and paternalistic ideology was largely nurtured by administrators of Indian Affairs up to the end of the Second World War."[56]

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[54] For purposes of readability the words "civilize," "civilizing," and "civilization" will not appear in quotation marks. They should be read in such a manner, however, since they are the frame of reference of many government and church advocates of Indian schooling. They are not those of the writer.

[55] John L. Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy," Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology 6 (1976), p. 15.

Types of Schools

Indian schooling had begun with the coming of European missionaries and the concepts of education and evangelization sometimes dovetailed. There were as many types of schools as there were various types of missionaries. There were day schools located on the reserves which were in keeping with the philosophy that Indians were to be trained for life on the reserve and spend their lives there.[57] Day schools were advantageous to the department because they were the least expensive type of education and they met less resistance from the parents. It was hoped too that what the child learned at the day school would be carried to the home at night.

There was the reserve boarding school which was an attempt to avoid some of the difficulties posed by day schools. It was hoped that the routine of boarding school with its industrial program would more effectively civilize which in turn might assimilate the Indian child. Since the student would be constantly surrounded by an English and/or French speaking staff, language acquisition would be facilitated too.

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[56] H. B. Hawthorn, gen. ed., A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada, vol. 2: Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies (Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch, 1967), p. 23.

[57] In Western Canada schools were established before reserves were created. An example is the Whitefish Lake Mission which is discussed later in this chapter.

Church and state goals were best achieved, however, by the off-reserve boarding school. The advantage of this type of school was that it was wholly removed from the Indian community and its influence. The students could be taught "how to live" in an environment which was controlled by government policy and church management. David Adams says in his study of U. S. boarding schools, the day school, the reserve boarding school and the non-reserve residential school were woven into a hierarchical system of Indian education, with the non-reserve type boarding school being seen by government officials as the most effective way of accomplishing Indian civilization.[58] When the Saddle Lake Indian Agent commented in 1925, "In my opinion, the operating of these (day) schools is only a useless waste of money, for which we are getting no value"[59] he was expressing the view of the majority of church and government people who were involved in education. Both church and state believed the off-reserve boarding school could best accomplish their educational goals.

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[58] David Wallace Adams, "The Federal Indian Boarding School: A Study of Environment and Response, 1879-1918" (Ed.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1975), p. 60.

[59] Public Archives of Canada, R. G. 10, Vol. 6345, file 751-1, part 1, 16 October 1925.

The government protectionist and isolationist philosophy regarding Indians and their education lasted from before Confederation until 1945. After World War II the philosophy changed to one of assimilation through integration. Until this change, the reserve was isolated from the larger community and the residential school was isolated from the reserve. In the case of the off-reserve residential school this isolation from both Indian and non-Indian societies was almost complete. As shall be shown in this chapter, students attending Blue Quills through the mid 1940's were isolated from their reserve communities and from the larger non-Indian community. The philosophy and legislation of the federal government supported the view that civilization would be best accomplished through this isolation.

The government goal for native people was assimilation into the dominant Canadian society. The means of achieving this end changed from that of isolation and protection to integration. The aim of making Indians the same as other citizens remained constant. Since the government believed that Christianization and civilization were synonymous, churches were given the responsibility of establishing day and residential schools.

B. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Before discussing the philosophy of the church and its application to native education, a sketch of the Protestant and Catholic missionary activity in the Saddle Lake area will be given.

Catholic and Methodist Missionaries

Missionary activity in the northwest, particularly in the area of Alberta outlined in Figure 2, began in 1840 when the Hudson's Bay Company invited the Wesleyan Methodist Church of England to establish missions in their territories. The first Methodist missionaries to come west were James Evans, Robert Rundle, William Mason, and George Barnley.[60] Rev. Rundle was the first Christian missionary to be located at Edmonton House;[61] although Catholic priests had passed through this area previously their mission activities began shortly after the Methodists' arrival.

Rev. James Evans was accompanied west by a young Ojibway man, Henry Bird Steinhauer, who assisted him with translating the Bible into Cree syllabics. In 1855 H. B. Steinhauer was ordained, and went to Lac La Biche where he worked four years. He then established a permanent mission at Whitefish Lake and lived there until his death in 1884.

To the Methodists, the future of a mission depended on its school. By 1862 the Whitefish Lake Mission had its own schoolhouse, and "In 1866-67 the Rev. Henry Steinhauer could report 'almost all our people can read the Scriptures in their own language'."[62] The mission also had an agricultural component and attracted traders wanting to establish posts nearby; "they were denied the privilege for fear their presence might have an adverse effect upon the little Community."[63]

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[60] J. H. Riddell, _Methodism in the Middle West_ (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1946), p. 15.
[61] Ibid., p. 26.

The first Roman Catholic order to come west were the Oblates, who established a mission in 1844 at Lac Ste. Anne, west of Fort Edmonton, where the Hudson's Bay Company had a fishery station. The goals of the Roman Catholic missionaries were: to learn Indian languages so as to instruct in them effectively; to regularize the unions between French Canadian Catholic men and Indian women; to preach the gospel; and wherever possible to establish schools.[64] The Oblates were often assisted in their mission work by the Grey Nuns, who came west in 1844 at the request of Bishop Provencher.[65] Catholic and Methodist missionaries were often in the same place at the same time. For example, when the Methodists sent Rev. H. B. Steinhauer to Lac La Biche in 1855, the Catholics responded by sending Father Vital Grandin there as well. The relationship between these two denominations will be discussed later in this section.

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[62] James Ernest Nix, "Pioneers, Patriots and Missionaries" (B. Div. thesis, University of Alberta, 1954), p. 262.
[63] Mabel E. Jordon, "Henry Bird Steinhauer and his Whitefish Lake Mission," Alberta Historical Review 3 (1955), p. 12.
[64] Riddell, pp. 2-3.
[65] P. Duchaussois, The Grey Nuns in the Far North: 1867-1917 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1919); Estelle Mitchelle, Marguerite d'Youville: Foundress of the Grey Nuns (Montreal: Palm Publishers, 1965); Mary Pauline Fitts, Hands to the Needy: Blessed Marguerite d'Youville Apostle to the Poor (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1971).

One of the most active priests in the area was Father Albert Lacombe, an Oblate who came west in 1849. Of the many missions he helped establish, two are of particular interest to this study--St. Paul des Cris and St. Paul des Metis.

Father Lacombe decided the church needed a mission to teach Crees farming. This mission, St. Paul des Cris, was established in 1865 in an area[66] where the Methodists from Whitefish Lake and Fort Victoria were gaining influence.[67] On 29 April 1865 Father Lacombe left Fort Edmonton and travelled by boat to St. Paul des Cris. He wrote:

> In a few days a piece of land was prepared. The potatoes were put into the earth. Our carrot and turnip seeds were sewn, and the first seeding of the establishment was completed.[68]

A month after the "skeleton of a house"[69] and garden had established the mission the Crees, numbering some 200 tepees, broke camp and left on a buffalo hunt. The mission of St. Paul des Cris was used sporadically thereafter and closed in 1872, two years after a smallpox epidemic resulted in the death of almost half of Alberta's Indians. Between the effects of epidemic and the work of the Methodist missionaries, St. Paul des Cris had lost much of the reason for its existence to the Catholics.

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[66] St. Paul des Cris was established on the present site of Brosseau; see Figure 2 in the area of township 55 range 11.
[67] Victoria was a Methodist mission established in the 1860's; see Figure 2 in the area of township 55 range 17. It was a Metis settlement with a Hudson's Bay post. The post office at Victoria mission was named after Pakan (James Seenum) as a reward for his loyalty to the government during the Riel Rebellion of 1885.
[68] James G. MacGregor, Father Lacombe (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1975), p. 142.
[69] Ibid., p. 145.

Both Catholic and Methodist missionaries attended negotiations when Treaty Six was signed in 1876. During the Rebellion of 1885 they cautioned the Indians and Metis against joining Riel's people. Although it is difficult to assess their effectiveness, some native Christians such as Peter Erasmus and James Seenum played an important part in seeing that the events of the Riel Rebellion, apart from the Frog Lake incident, did not spread to the northeastern part of Alberta.[70]

After the Rebellion, the Catholic church started to encourage immigrants to come from Quebec. The church had reason for concern, since Protestants from Ontario were beginning to outnumber Catholic Metis.[71] Father Lacombe was appointed one of the church's colonizers and he went to Quebec and Europe to encourage emigration to western Canada.

One of the ways Father Lacombe attempted to combine the church's concern for the Metis and its desire for more French-speaking Catholics was by the creation of St. Paul des Metis. Father Lacombe presented a plan to the federal government requesting a grant of land where the Metis could form a farming colony under the direction of the Oblate priests. In 1895 two townships[72] were set aside for this purpose and 80 acre lots were sublet to Metis. Father

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[70] Evelyn Rowand, "The Rebellion at Lac La Biche," Alberta Historical Review 21 (1973), pp. 1-9.
[71] MacGregor, p. 218.
[72] These were townships 57 and 58, ranges 9 and 10; see Figure 2. These two townships were 144 sections, or 1152 eighty-acre plots.

Adeodat Therien was appointed in charge of the colony. Many newspapers reported the creation of the colony was a Catholic design to increase the church's support in the west, and a move which would not be appreciated by the Metis.[73]

The development of St. Paul des Metis has been divided into three periods.[74] The first, from July 1896 to June 1901, saw the establishment of a church residence, a model farm, a saw mill, and a flour mill. The saw mill and flour mill had been moved there from Lac La Biche in 1897, and La Mission Notre Dame des Victoires boarding school had been transferred to the Saddle Lake Reserve. During the second period, from 1901 to 1905, a large three-storey boarding school accommodating some 85 Metis children was built. Some of the students set fire to the school on 14 January 1905, and it was completely destroyed. The third period of St. Paul des Metis, 1905 to 1909, saw plans made to turn the colony over to non-Indian homesteaders.

During this period settlers from Quebec were directed to land surrounding St. Paul des Metis. By 1909 the parishes of Bonneyville, St. Edouard, Lafond, and St. Vincent were established. When documents dissolving the Metis colony were signed, Quebec French settlers were there to take up homesteads. On 10 April 1909 St. Paul des Metis became St. Paul;[75] of the sixty-three Metis families remaining, forty-four were given title to land within the former colony.[76]

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[73] MacGregor, p. 306.

[74] Eremic O. Drouin, "St. Paul des Metis," Alberta Historical Review 11 (1963), pp. 12-14.

Denominational Relations

What was the relationship between French-speaking Catholic missionaries and English-speaking Methodist clergymen? Occasionally they were cooperative. Rev. John McDougall tells of trading pemmican for wheat seed with the priest at Lac La Biche in 1866, as he "was the only person who had any to dispose of."[77] More often though, relations between the two denominations were not friendly. Father Lacombe frequently referred to the Methodists as "in the 'error of protestantism' or filled with the 'fanaticism of Wesleyanism'."[78] Rev. George McDougall wrote that Catholicism was a power "in wakeful exercise, only less pestiferous and Godless than Paganism itself."[79] Conflict between the denominations would occasionally result in a convert being baptized by one and then baptized a second time by the other.

Of the interfaith conflict, Chief Maskepatoon explained to Paul Kane in 1848 (as quoted by MacGregor):

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[75] St. Paul Journal, History of St. Paul, Alberta: 1909-1959 (St. Paul, Alberta, 1960), p. 35.
[76] Drouin, p. 14.
[77] John McDougall, Pathfinding on Plain and Prairie: Stirring Scenes of Life in the Canadian North-West (Toronto: William Briggs, 1898), p. 147.
[78] MacGregor, p. 209.
[79] Ibid., p. 210.

> Mr. Rundell (Rundle, a Methodist) has told him that what he preached was the only true road to heaven and Mr. Hunter (Anglican) told him the same thing, and so did Mr. Thebo (Thibault, a Catholic), and as they all three said that the other two were wrong, and as he did not know which was right, he thought they ought to call a council among themselves, and then he would go with them all three; but that until they agreed he would wait.[80]

When the successes of Catholic missionary work are counted, it would appear that they were more successful in making converts than their Protestant colleagues. If the criterion of success is numbers of individuals baptised who frequented mass and took the sacraments, then the French Catholic missionaries were successful. They were less successful on criteria such as the disappearance of observances from native traditional religion, or the number of Indian people in religious vocations. It has been suggested that Catholic emphasis on good works converged more with traditional native beliefs than did the Bible-centred Protestants' emphasis on faith and that this accounts for their numerical success.[81]

The Roman Catholic Approach to Education

The philosophy of the Catholic church was that of evangelization and education. These goals were inseparable. Conversion to Christianity could be achieved only by civilizing the Indian for a settled agrarian life, and this objective encompassed both spiritual and practical dimensions. The practical concerns included school subjects of reading, writing, counting, hygiene, and knowledge of farming in the reserve environment.[82]

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[80] Ibid., p. 96.

[81] Cornelius J. Jaenen, "Missionary Approaches to Native Peoples," in Approaches to Native History in Canada, ed. D. A. Muise (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1977), p. 12.

According to church doctrine, there are three essential societies or groups established by God into which people are born. They are the family, the state, and the church. The family and state are part of the natural order while the church is part of the supernatural order. Although the rights of parents to educate their children is a natural and divine right, it is subject to the judgment and authority of the church.

> ...the state does not take the place of the family, but merely makes provisions for its deficiences and provides suitable means, always in conformity with the natural rights of the child and the supernatural rights of the church.[83]

Since the rights of the state are limited by the prior rights of the family and by the superior rights of the church, the role of the state is to help the work of the church. Some church advocates did not always think that the state was cooperative, as indicated by Father Leduc's claim that the federal government would "kill the Catholic schools by inches." In response to the government ordinance of 1892 regarding education in the Northwest Territories, he wrote "We (the church) will never give up or yield our rights, but unceasingly protest against this hostile power (of the state)."[84] Denominationalism, not only among the clergy but within government and church relations, contributed to hostility toward the government such as the protest over the appointment of a Protestant Indian Agent for the Saddle Lake Reserve:

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[82] Mark D. Rothman, "The Response of the National Indian Brotherhood of Canada to the Indian Education Policy of the Canadian National Government" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1977), p. 18.

[83] Benedictine Monks of Solesmes, ed., Papal Teachings: Education, trans. Aldo Rebeschini (Boston: Daughters of St. Paul, 1960), p. 218.

> As long as he does not interfere in his official capacity as agent, with our religious interests, we simply overlook the fact that he is a protestant, although we are naturally alived to the notion that, in consideration of the number of our catholic Indians on the reserves, we are entitled to a better share of the government patronage in the appointment of catholic agents. We have always contended for, and what we do still now, is that the agent, on his reserve, should be fair and just, free from any tendency to discriminate in favor of one denomination against the other. 'Fair play to all' is our motto. Would to God that the same could be said of certain other denominations.[85]

For the church education and Christianization, in particular Catholicism, were synonymous, and the integral nature of education and religion was always maintained. This was especially important because the government gave the church the daily responsibility of bringing educational services to the Indian. An Order in Council (passed in 1892 and in effect until 1957) established regulations for financing church-operated schools. School buildings were a joint governmental-church responsibility, while books and supplies were paid for solely by the government. Operating expenses including teaching salaries were paid for by the church which was then reimbursed by the government on a per pupil basis.[86]

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[84] H. Leduc, Hostility Unmasked (Montreal: C. O. Beauchemin and Son, 1896), p. 27.

[85] Provincial Archives of Alberta, Oblate Accession 71.220, fol. 57, B-VIII-340, 26 May 1906.

Although the church complained about financial constraints and difficulties arising from the religious affiliation of potential students, R. J. Carney points out that for two reasons relations between the church and the government between 1921 and 1945 were cordial.[87] First, the relationship was reciprocally beneficial as the government administrators were freed from direct educational responsibility for Indian education because the missionaries operated the schools almost autonomously. In the government's Annual Report of 1910 it was said of the church-state relationship that "it would be difficult to see how a better or cheaper policy in regards to (Indian residential) schools could be formulated than the one now in vogue."[88] The second reason for these good relations was that both church and state "believed in the efficacy of a wilderness existence for the aborigine."[89]

Although the relationship between the church and the department was often affable, the underlying philosophy of these two institutions was at odds. The Oblates and Grey Nuns were oriented toward a belief in the superiority of a special Catholic, agrarian, and Francophone model of education. Witness, for example, Catholic Action. This was a term used to designate both a concept and an organization of laity. While it referred to any external action of a Catholic layperson inspired by faith, it also encompassed a tightly structured organization dealing with lay involvement within the church hierarchy.[90] Both the school and reserve had Catholic Action groups. On the other hand, the government supported a Christian, agrarian and Anglophone model of Indian education. The department had no organization, hierarchical or otherwise, which advocated Indian involvement either in the decisions effecting the school or the reserve.

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[86] Daniels, p. 162.
[87] Carney, p. 157.
[88] quoted in Daniels, p. 163.
[89] Carney, p. 169.

Schooling was then seen as a prepatory experience for life on the reserves where the Indian could interrelate the Christian ethic with the agrarian lifestyle. Thus until the Second World War the educational goals of the church and the state were almost identical. The church and state believed that civilization would be facilitated by educating and ministering to the Indians as a separate and isolated group. In the residential school, this isolation from other religious denominations, from the native and home community, and from non-Indian students was absolute. Like the state, the church supported the position that assimilation would be best accomplished through isolation. Unlike the state, the church believed the right of the state in education was to defend the right of the child to a Christian, that is Catholic, education.

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[90] D. J. Geaney, "Catholic Action," New Catholic Encyclopedia 3 (1967), pp. 262-263.

The fundamental objectives of the Catholic schools established for Indians were to instruct the children in the Catholic faith, provide them with some secular instruction, and to mitigate the influence of Protestant missionaries through formal Catholic schooling in a residential environment. Although the church thought that family environment, when assisted by the church and supplemented by the school was the best assurance for a good education, in situations where they considered the family unable to carry out such a task the boarding school became a "providential institution." Pope Pius XII wrote in 1956, "these boarding schools do not exempt the parents from the duties they have towards their children; in fact, it is necessary that the parents exert their influence in the school also, even though they themselves remain out of sight, in order that their children's formation may be completed."[91]

Although the church may have supported parental influence in the boarding school as indicated by the previous quotation, when the parents were Indians this did not always apply. Indian parents had little influence on the residential schooling their children received.

C. THE INDIAN COMMUNITY AND EDUCATION

Prior to Confederation, the Indian community was powerless concerning educational legislation. Education in the Province of Canada in 1857 was designed to prepare

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[91] Benedictine Monks of Solesmes, p. 522.

Indians for conversion to Christianity and fuller citizenship.[92] In the Act of 1869 Chiefs and Band Councils were given the authority to make rules and regulations regarding the construction and maintenance of school houses on the reserves, and in 1880 their authority was extended to cover designating the religious affiliation of the reserve school teacher. In 1920 the Chief and Council were given the right to inspect schools which children from their reserve attended, although the exercise of this authority was subject to prior government approval.[93]

These powers of Chief and Council, however, were limited since they were subject to government approval which made their powers more formal than actual. Some reserves created school boards which had some say in school affairs. It was only in the matter of determining the Christian denomination of teachers employed in reserve schools where the Band Councils were free from administrative control.

The early correspondence of the Saddle Lake Agency regarding schooling illustrates the Indian role in matters of education, and the beginnings of schooling in this area. It also indicates Indian resistance to mission schools in these early days.

In September 1889 forty-four members of Pakan's Band and reserve sent a petition to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs "earnestly submit(ting) to you our united protest against the establishment of a Roman Catholic

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[92] Daniels, p. 89.
[93] Ibid., p. 101.

Mission on any portion of the...Reserve... ."[94] In a follow-up letter to Sir John A. MacDonald, James Seenum, Chief of Pakan's Band wrote that Bishop Grandin stated "that they (the Roman Catholics) can and will build where they choose."[95] Chief Seenum questioned whether the church could trespass and build on land without the owner's consent, later intimating that any mission or school building put up by the Roman Catholic Church might be burnt down. The Indian agent determined that of the 125 band members, 56 per cent were Catholic and 44 per cent Protestant; the Methodist missionary, H. B. Steinhauer, put the division at the 50 per cent mark.[96]

In this religious conflict between Catholic and Methodist missionaries, the Protestant Indians and their chief were supported by Rev. Steinhauer, who in pleading the case to his superiors asked rhetorically, "To whom does this reserve belong? To the government? To the Roman Catholic Church? To any other denomination that might be named? Or does it belong to the poor Indian?"[97] This question was answered when the government obtained consent from Pakan's band for the Catholic church to build on the part of the Saddle Lake reserve occupied by Blue Quill's band. The Methodists in this area were moved to another part of the reserve, and the government provided them with heifers as compensation for the move.

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[94] Public Archives of Canada, R. G. 10, Vol. 6345, file 751-1, part 1, 2 September 1889.
[95] Ibid., 10 January 1890.
[96] Ibid., 18 April 1890.
[97] Ibid.

How did the Indian community respond to these missionary efforts? Some chose to acquiesce to the demands of the missionary residential school. A number of Indians had come to the conclusion that the old ways of making a living were disappearing, and partly out of self-interest and self protection, they saw the necessity of getting an education. Some were aware of the residential school denominational differences and wanted their children to experience each one. The reason one woman gave for attending Blue Quills was "my brothers and sisters all went to the (Protestant) residential school in Edmonton that's now Poundmaker's (Lodge). So my mother said, 'We'll put you in a different school and see what the difference is.'"

Other Indian parents, however, resisted the efforts to educate their young.[98] The main reason for this was that residential school education meant that Indian parents were denied the right to raise or even know their own children, which was, of course, a major reason for the attempts to establish residential schools by the churches. A Blue Quills student from the 1930's said, "That way of education takes the responsibility away from the parents because they don't see their kids. I don't know how to say it but when you loose some of the responsibility as a parent maybe you're not a whole human being."

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[98] Studies concerned with Indian resistance to government controls are Susanne A. Hayes, "The Resistance to Education for Assimilation by the Coleville Indians, 1872 to 1972" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1973), and Kennedy.

Another important part of this parental opposition to residential schooling was the knowledge that because of the illnesses children contracted while at school some of them would not return home alive. Indeed, occasionally the school would send terminally ill children back to their reserve to die. This prompted the Indian Commissioner to write the principal at Blue Quills in 1900 "...I can not help thinking that it cannot help the school very much to allow her (a student granted discharge) to die on the reserve."[99] However, the situation could be worse. When an epidemic of typhoid fever struck Blue Quills School in December 1919, it resulted in the death of two nuns, five children, and an unknown number of people on the Saddle Lake reserve.[100]

Many families opposed residential school because they viewed it as an institution devoted to the annihilation of the Indian's own ways. When the students were "rounded up" in the fall was the time when this resistance could be expressed. Once the children arrived in school this resistance took a variety of forms. Running away was frequent, while arson or physical violence toward school officials were rare occurrences. Returning to the reserve relatively unchanged after years of schooling was the main one.

The native community was the object of government formulation and church implementation of Indian education policy. This policy by church and state was based on the view that civilization was to be achieved through education in isolation. Faced with this dual effort Indian people were relatively powerless and they responded by both acquiesence and resistance to the education they were given.

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[99] Alberta Provincial Archives, Oblate Accession 71.220, fol. 57, B-VIII-340, 26 October 1900.
[100] Ibid., 18 December 1919.

D. DEVELOPMENT OF BLUE QUILLS

The discussion to this point has provided a background milieu in which the Blue Quills Indian Residential School developed. Attention will now be given to the chronological development of the Blue Quills School. The school had its roots in La Mission Notre Dame des Victoires at Lac La Biche and later in the Sacred Heart Mission on the Saddle Lake Reserve.

La Mission Notre Dame des Victoires

As an outgrowth of their missionary work in the West, the Order of Mary Immaculate, the Oblate Fathers, built a school in 1857 at Lac La Biche.[101] The Grey Nuns arrived at the mission in 1862 and a year later began to teach at the mission boarding school.

In 1897 Bishop Grandin requested funds to expand the existing school which by 1893 was offering an industrial program to some twenty children. He wrote the Indian Commissioner, "I am told that the Blue Quill's and Saddle Lake reserve Indians are agitating just now for a Boarding

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[101] See Figure 2; La Mission Notre Dame des Victoires is now known as the Lac La Biche Mission.

School of their own. It is needless to say that most of our pupils come from Blue Quill's, the granting to them or to one of the other Reserves of a Boarding School would be the closing of our own."[102]

The rivalry between Catholics and Protestants regarding the building of a school on their reserve has been referred to previously. There were numerous incidents where the Catholics were accused of taking Methodist children to be educated in their school against departmental regulations forbidding such practices. Grandin's reply was that these parents had requested their children be allowed to attend La Mission Notre Dame des Victoires, and the government usually followed this suggestion.

When the Lac La Biche Mission was closed in 1898 the staff and students were transferred to a new residential school which had been built in the Saddle Lake reserve. Chief Pakan's petition in 1899 protesting the presence of a Catholic school on the reserve has been referred to. However, Blue Quill's Band accepted the school and allowed it to be moved on their part of the reserve.

The Reserve School

The new school occupied an uneasy position on the reserve. The agent said in 1902:

> ...The Indians of Saddle Lake Band would not consent to admit the Blue Quill Band to share their rights and interests in the Reserve, unless I would promise them that the Blue Quill Boarding School etc. would not at any time be moved to the Saddle Lake side of

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[102] Public Archives of Canada, R. G. 10, Vol. 6345, file 751-1, part 1, 14 April 1897.

> the reserve. ...After carefully explaining matters to them, they signed the agreement under the following condition, that the Dept. would not allow the Blue Quill Boarding School and Mission to be moved to the Saddle Lake side of the reserve.[103]

The school reflected denominational differences on the reserve, and also parental dissatisfaction with the school operation. Parents had the Indian agent register their complaint against the school concerning teacher suitability. They claimed their children were "not learning anything at present," and complained against severe punishments by teachers. The agent reported that the parents "do not object to school regulations and are pleased to send their children to school recognizing advantages but think that less severity and more interest in (the) welfare of children could be displayed by teachers of this school."[104] The principal, Father Husson, responded to the charge by saying that he "would like to know if there was even one single Indian on this B. Q. Reserve who has been qualified to judge of the competency of the Sisters as teachers."[105] The Indian department school inspector then investigated the parents' grievances and reported that they had little reason for complaint.

Reports by inspectors between 1914 and 1920 indicated general departmental satisfaction with the school program. The travelling nurse reported instructing teachers to train the pupils in proper breathing exercises as "so many children among the Indians are 'mouth breathers,' have stooped shoulders, indolent walks, (and) very poor carriage and physiques."[106] The nurse's concern might have been more easily alleviated by a change in pupils' diet, since residential food was inadequate in nutrition and quantity and contributed to health problems. However, such health problems were common complaints in residential schools.

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[103] Public Archives of Canada, R. G. 10, Vol. 6345, file 751-1, part 1, 4 March 1902.

[104] Ibid., 11 January 1913.

[105] Ibid., 25 March 1914.

The nurse also reported finding a thirteen year old girl pregnant at the school, which resulted in a criminal case. A charge was laid against the alleged seducer, a local Indian man, who denied the accusation and refused to marry the girl. The Indian agent asked for a defence lawyer for the accused, to which the Ottawa office telegramed the answer that the "Department does not provide for defence of Indians except when charged with murder."[107] Eventually the accused decided to marry the girl, and so charges were dropped. The incident was used to support the the school staff's suggestion that "the pupils (be) obliged to remain at the school during all vacations and all the time till their educations are completed at the age of 16 years."[108]

Moving the School Off the Reserve

The 1920 amendments to the Indian Act prescribed compulsory attendance for Indian children between the ages of seven and fifteen. Only thirteen pupils at Blue Quills School were under ten, and there were many younger children who were not being recruited by the school. In 1922 the church suggested creating an industrial school for the children of Indian Catholics of northern Alberta at Saddle Lake. Father Gabillon, then acting principal, wrote to the department also urging it to grant a school which could accommodate two hundred pupils. The proposed increase over the present enrolment of sixty pupils was suggested so that more younger children could be admitted, and so that boys could be kept in school until the age of eighteen. The desirability of a new site closer to the railway station and one to which Chipewyan students from the Cold Lake reserves could attend was also recognized by the priest.[109]

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[106] Ibid., November 1921.
[107] Ibid., 7 February 1922.
[108] Ibid., November 1921.

Building a new school on the reserve became less likely because parts of Saddle Lake Reserve were opened to non-Indian settlers. In 1925 a land surrender vote had been taken on the reserve, with the surrender of 18,720 acres (408 quarter sections) being approved by a majority of only three votes. This reduced the size of the reserve by almost one third,[110] and the threat of eliminating the reserve completely was always present. By the spring of 1927 land was being cleared for the "sturdy Scotch farmer folk"[111] and the local newspaper editorialized:

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[109] Ibid., 8 September 1924.

[110] Indeed, votes taken in later years showed that the majority of people were against surrendering any more land. Saddle Lake Cultural Education Committee, "Historical Events: Saddle Lake Reservation," 1977, p. 40. (Mimeographed.)

[111] St. Paul Journal, 13 January 1927.

> Owing to the very large influx of new settlers who are clamoring for land the government should be asked to open the rest of Saddle Lake Reserve. Who will take the initial steps to have the rest of this choice virgin land thrown open for settlement?[112]

Suggestions about the surrender and sale of reserve lands were not new. As early as 1906 it was suggested to the Saddle Lake Reserve Indians that they surrender two-thirds of their land in return for farm equipment, livestock or rations, and housing. It was reasoned by promoters of the proposal: "Why do the Indians who are unfitted for farming, through age or any other reason go short of food, when by selling a good piece of it they and their children could get weekly supplies of beef, and flour and tea monthly."[113]

Although the records do not so indicate, apparently the department nevertheless was still thinking about building a school in the area, for on the first day of 1928, Father Gabillon, principal of the Blue Quills School, wrote Duncan Campbell Scott, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, saying he was glad to hear a new school was being considered and suggested a suitable site. This site was "...three miles west of St. Paul de Metis, which may be considered as the central point of all the Indian Reserves (Cree and Chipewyan) situated in our district of Athabaska; and therefore the new school building should be large enough to accomodate from 150 to 200 children."[114] While the new school was being considered, on 16 September a fire destroyed the stable, feed and horses at Blue Quills School on the reserve. This prompted the department to move ahead more quickly, and on 9 October 1928 it was decided to acquire section 11, township 58, range 10, west of the fourth meridian, for the site of a new Indian residential school.[115] An advertisement calling for bids on the construction of the "New Blue Quills Indian Residential School near St. Paul de Metis" appeared in the *Bulletin* and *La Survivance* (Edmonton), the Vegreville *Observer*, and the St. Paul *Journal* in April of 1930. J. McDiarmid Co. Ltd. of Winnipeg was awarded the contract for $168,500 and Mr. Gardner-Smith, Indian Affairs inspector in the Old Sun School at Gleichen, Alberta, was appointed as inspector for the project.

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[112] Ibid., 16 June 1927.
[113] Provincial Archives of Alberta, Oblate Accession 71.220, fol. 57, B-VIII-340, 1906.
[114] Public Archives of Canada, R. G. 10, Vol. 6347, file 751-9, part 1, 1 January 1928.

The water and sewage system had been built after numerous difficulties and by December 1930 the major work in progress at the school was interior plastering. The secretary-treasurer of the town of St. Paul requested that the department give a contract for cutting brush on school land to the village "and by so doing give a chance to destitute people to earn a living."[116] The Athabasca Federal

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[115] The document approving this acquisition may be found in Appendix B. Its terms are politically significant because the bands from Saddle Lake believe this too was reserve land. This became an important issue during the 1970 confrontation between the native community and the government over the future of the school. Section 11 and township 58 can be located in Figure 2.

[116] Public Archives of Canada, R. G. 10, Vol. 6347, file 751-9, part 1, 24 December 1930.

Conservative Association, fresh from the victory of R. B. Bennet and the Conservatives in the 1930 federal election, were also interested in the contract and wrote the department in February 1931:

> This association is in a position to recommend parties who would do the work expeditiously, properly and at no greater cost than any who will undoubtedly tender for the contract. Our political friends the liberals ever on the alert are busy on the project, so we are informed and verily believe.[117]

Duncan Campbell Scott of the department responded to the Conservative Association offering them a contract to clear the land for $6 an acre. The association countered with an $8 an acre fee for brushing and burning. The Indian agent suggested that the price for clearing the 100 acres was somewhat high. The agreement finally reached was a compromise: 40 acres cleared at eight dollars an acre and the balance at six dollars an acre. A Mr. Faucher of St. Paul was hired to break and disc the land at $8 an acre. The government paid $251.50 to Indians for hauling wire and posts from St. Paul to the school site and for building a fence. This did little to counteract the lack of local employment for Indians.

E. ESTABLISHMENT OF BLUE QUILLS

The school conformed to government specifications for Indian residential schools (see Plate 1, page 170). The basement contained the laundry room, kitchen, bakery, children's dining room, priests' dining room, and nuns' dining room. There were also washrooms and a room for the school engineer. The first floor included the chapel, two parlour rooms (one for Indian visitors and the other for non-Indian visitors), classrooms, washrooms, and the priest's room and office. The second floor held the nuns' dormitory and community room. The children's infirmary and classrooms were also to be found there. The third floor contained the dormitories. In keeping with the customary separation of the children by sex, the boys' dormitory, entrance, and play areas outside and inside were on the east side of the building while the girls' areas were on the west side.[118] In addition to the main residential building, a barn was also constructed on the school grounds.

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[117] Ibid., February 1931.

There was a significant difference in ownership between the school on the Saddle Lake Reserve and the one off the reserve near St. Paul. The on-reserve boarding school was church owned, and the government supported its operation with a per capita annual grant. The new school was government owned. Of the twenty Indian residential schools in operation in Alberta in 1931, half were government owned and half were owned by the Catholic or Protestant churches.[119]

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[118] On Plate 1 the boys' side of the building is the right half of the building and the girls' quarters are on the left. The exterior of the building is red brick with white stonework around the entrance. The inspector of construction claimed "The stonework of the main entrance looks ornate and distinctive, and will impart dignity to the whole building." (Public Archives of Canada, R. G. 10, Vol. 6345, file 751-1, part 2, 20 September 1930.)

This administration by the Oblates also represented a change in the new Blue Quills, although it had actually taken place two years earlier. Until 1929 the old Blue Quills School on the reserve had been under the direction of the Grey Nuns while an Oblate priest was the principal. The nuns wanted to relinquish their responsibility for the school in 1924 because school expenses had risen above the government per capita grant which was paid to the religious order for the operation of the school. Also, the Sisters were reluctant to keep boys over twelve or thirteen years in the school, and as a result boys were often discharged at this age.

In addition, from the perspective of the church staff, an awkward situation existed because while the principal was a salaried official at the school, he had no formal responsibility for the management of it. The Oblate Fathers said that they were interested in managing the school if the nuns' debt was erased by the government. The government and the Oblate order made an agreement whereby the Oblates assumed the entire responsibility for management of the school. This change meant that there would be at least two Oblates at the school, one serving as principal or administrator and the other serving as bursar. The Sisters continued to be responsible for providing the teaching staff, and one nun who was the senior teacher in charge of instruction.

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[119] Public Archives of Canada, R. G. 10, Vol. 6001, file 1-1-1, 4 May 1931.

Move to the School

Throughout the spring and summer of 1931 the grounds of the school were readied and school and dormitory furnishings were ordered in preparation for move of the students. On 7 December 1931 the principal, Father Angin, his assistant Brother Lacroix, and nine Sisters moved 84 children from the school on the reserve to the new school. The previous day parents had come to collect the furniture to be abandoned at the old school as payment for transporting the children and other furnishings to the new site. A former student described the move:

> One of my girlfriends said, "Get up, this is the day we're moving." So I got up and we were told to take one blanket with us. We got an extra pair of socks, and it was mighty tight in those boots. We moved there December 7th, 1931. The sickly ones were wrapped in blankets and came in the truck with the Sisters. Dad came and picked up me and my brothers and on our way we stopped home. Mother had dinner ready for us. And my young auntie and her husband were there. That was the first time I noticed a woman's tummy getting big. She was very pregnant. And I said, "Good God, whatever happened to her, she used to be so pretty." We stopped at a white farm a few miles out to see if they could take us in their car. It was so cold their car was frozen and they were building a fire under it. I didn't know what they were doing, but my brother said, "If I have to go through all that trouble I'll never own a car. You have to build a fire under it to get them going." It was a long ride and I must have fallen asleep. When we got there all the lights were on and there were children all over. Everyone was running around and there was no order. I was happy because I thought that's the way it was going to stay. The next day there was no school, just hustle and bustle all over. But that evening you could hear crying all over. The children were so lonesome. And I thought we were going to die here, it was so awful. I looked out the

window and it was so changed. But that only lasted awhile I suppose because soon we started going to school.

Daily Routine

School students soon fell into the routine of the daily schedule of the residential school. The following "Daily Schedule for the Children of the Blue Quill School" was drawn up by a priest in 1942 and posted throughout the school:

6:00 Rising of the children. All make the sign of the Cross. The one who rises the children says "Blessed be God;" all the children repeat "Blessed be God." Everyone must dress in silence. They also remain at their bedside until the signal is given to go downstairs. As soon as they are down, they must wash and comb in silence.
6:20 Morning prayer. Our Father, Hail Mary, Apostle's Creed, I Confess, Acts of Faith, Hope and Charity, Contrition, Commandments. Immediately after the prayer, all must line up in silence and go right up to the Chapel for the Mass. ...After Mass all go down in the recreation room and get ready for breakfast.
7:15 Breakfast. It is silent during that meal.
7:40 All go up to the Dormitory to make their beds; when all are through they go in their recreation room. It is recreation for those who are free.
7:50 Housework for those appointed.
8:10 Recreation for everybody.
8:45 Exterior bell rings, everybody stops their play at once, and go in to get ready for school.
8:55 Interior bell rings for school.
10:15 Recess time. The bell rings on both sides.
10:30 The interior bell rings for school again. The children should not be brought in school before the bell has rung.
11:25 Interior bell for noon intermission .
11:30 Wednesdays and Fridays singing for the boys in their classroom. Tuesdays and Thursdays singing for the girls in their playroom.
11:45 Exterior bell rings to call all the Barn Boys in to get ready for dinner.
12:00 Dinner. Before dinner, the Angelus is recited in English in their room.
12:30 Recreation until 1:15.
1:15 Exterior bell rings for the children to prepare for school.

1:25 Interior bell rings for school. Whenever there is Benediction all the children go to the Chapel immediately after that bell. After Benediction if there is school, all go to their respective class.
2:45 Interior bell rings for recess time .
3:00 Interior bell rings for school.
4:00 School period is over.
5:20 Whenever it is confession, ring the bell for the end of the recreation.
5:30 Confession for those who wish to go. Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays are days appointed for the girls; boys on Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays.
5:45 Exterior bell rings to call the Barn Boys in to get ready for supper.
6:00 Supper time. Children recite the Angelus before entering the Refectory.
6:30 Night Prayer, the same as Morning Prayer.
6:45 Recreation.
7:30 Bedtime for the smallest ones. At all times it is silence in the stairways and in the Dormitory. Before going up all should go to the toilet downstairs.
8:45 Bedtime for the biggest ones.[120]

The schedule also included rules on tidying play areas, using radios in the classroom, and bathing weekly.

The boys were compelled to go to the shower room in groups of twelve, and "everyone must go in each shower dressed and should come out from there dressed too."[121] One woman recalled:

> We'd get showers once a week on Friday. There were just bath tubs then in little rooms that had a door on them. When we had a bath we had to wear a "bathing suit" they called it. It was a grey flanelette gown. That's what you had to wear right in the tub, you couldn't even take it off. I guess that was being modest.

The staff were encouraged to read school regulations monthly to their pupils and to urge the children to speak English outside the classroom. It was further suggested that those children who made such an effort should be rewarded by a monthly bingo party.

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[120] Provincial Archives of Alberta, Oblate Accession 71.220, fol. 57, B-VIII-340, 19 January 1942.
[121] Ibid.

Apart from holidays, the routine was invariable. In spite of parents' requests to have their children home for two months of summer recess as in public schools,[122] the department would allow only 43 days recess each summer. Christmas was spent at the school, and described by a student in the school paper as:

> We usually go to bed early after supper for we have to get up before twelve. During the 2nd and 3rd Mass we sing hymns in Cree and English. After Mass we go down to the dining room to take our lunch of doughnuts and cocoa. Then we go to bed for we are quite tired. In the morning we take our breakfast and besides we have some popcorn or sometimes apples. During the day we play games and in the evening, that is the time we have most fun, as we have our Christmas tree.[123]

Student Experiences

Previously the Indian community was described as being relatively powerless in the formulation and implementation of education policy. Their response to this policy was both acquiesence and resistance to the type of education they were given.

One spectacular example of resistance occurred when three boys attempted to burn down the reserve school in 1929 (as the Metis children had done to their school in 1905). The fire was discovered before it could do serious damage, and the boys' request to be transferred to another school was denied. The Indian Affairs secretary, J. D. McLean, advised the Indian agent that the boys should have been given a good spanking when caught:

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[122] Public Archives of Canada, R. G. 10, Vol. 6347, file 751-10, part 1, 12 May 1934.
[123] Grey Nun Archives, Moccasin Telegram, December 1937.

> It is doubtful if corporal punishment, when removed from the time of the offence, is advisable. Perhaps the disciplining of these boys can be left for the school management. To request the transfer to another school of boys of these tender years suggests that the school principal is not a very strong disciplinarian.[124]

Similarly, in 1932 a twelve year old girl school set the clothes in the girls' coat-room on fire.[125]

The most common form of resistance, however, was running away from the school. During 1932, the first year of operation of the new school, "desertions" were such a problem that the principal petitioned the government to enforce compulsory school attendance as the aim of the department "is to civilize Indians, and the only way of civilizing them is boarding schools" and "the Department of Indian Affairs have made very big expenses for building a new school at St. Paul, to accomodate 140 pupils, and this must not be for nothing."[126] The Indian agent, Mr. Gullion, visited the school and spoke to the children of the importance of learning from their classes and manual work lessons, and in particular admonished them not to "desert." He reminded them of the state of poverty in which their parents were living, telling them that every day a few of their parents came to the agency to ask for food and clothing.

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[124] Public Archives of Canada, R. G. 10, Vol. 6345, file 751-1, part 1, 14 October 1929.
[125] Public Archives of Canada, R. G. 10, Vol. 6346, file 751-5, part 4, 22 November 1932.
[126] Provincial Archives of Alberta, Oblate Accession 71.220, fol. 57, B-VIII-340, 9 February 1932.

Some students faced painful punishment for running away, as described by one woman:

> I was about 12 or 13 when I ran away. We got to our place about 11:30 at night and my mother couldn't believe it. So they took us back the very next morning. The three of us were taken back and that night got a licking. I had welts all over. They had a big strap with little fringes and to top it off all the girls were in their rightful places praying for me. I said, "I'm going to run away again." When I got home my mother really felt bad and they brought me to the agency and showed my marks to the Indian agent. He said he'd look into it.

Another former pupil said, "I never did try to run away because I was told when I went that if I ever did something wrong that I'd get it back at home. So I was afraid on two sides." In 1943 the Indian agent reported, "six boys did run away last night during 15 below weather and arrived on the Saddle Lake Reserve, two with badly frozen feet and one with slightly frozen feet, it was lucky that two did not freeze to death."[127]

Children who ran away from the school were invariably returned and punished. Although the punishments were often the child's reason for "deserting" in the first place, further punishment was meted out by the staff when the student returned. Punishments were often severely administered, as evidenced by this description of a beating which was related by a woman who attended Blue Quills School in the 1930's:

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[127] Public Archives of Canada, R. G. 10, Vol. 6347, file 751-10, part 10, 2 March 1943.

> I remember one time this girl from Cold Lake did something real bad. We were called into the playroom about 8:00, and then there was this big table in the middle. They covered her with this sheet and each of us big girls had to hold one of her hands and legs. She was strapped there naked. And by a priest too. My heart was just pounding and I was afraid I was going to collapse or faint. It was pitiful. I tried to hold her gently but I had to be careful or I'd get strapped too.

She also said, "We were scared to tell our parents what was going on because our parents weren't educated to know the torture we were going through."

Usually the nuns were responsible for punishing the girls, and a former military man, a Mr. Tuck, was hired in 1932 to act as the boys' disciplinarian. Tuck himself expressed his concern that the boys were running away because "I admit that I am very quick tempered and have at different times got after them perhaps a little too severely."[128] A former student agreed, saying:

> If the boys ran away their head was shaved right till they were bald. Some of them had to go barefooted for fear they'd run away again. I remember the boys' supervisor, a Mr. Tuck, was the worst enemy. If they had a bomb they'd of bombed him every day.

During their stay most residential school students spent some time in quarantine or the school's infirmary because of illness. The school had its own infirmary with one Sister to act as pharmacist. A general practitioner from St. Paul, Dr. Decosse, would visit the school when serious illness occurred. Infections and epidemics were not unusual and illnesses such as measles, small pox and mumps often affected large numbers of children. A Sister recalled "at one time I had only two girls up (from bed) from 110." Those two healthy girls would have been working in the infirmary, which was one of the more desirable jobs in the school even when everyone was sick. One student said:

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[128] Provincial Archives of Alberta, Oblate Accession 71.220, fol. 57, B-VIII-340, 16 October 1933.

> When I was about 14 I worked in the infirmary taking pulses and giving out pills, sort of a nurse. I had little strings pulling for me; a Sister would bring up my lunch. The last year I didn't even take my exams. The whole school came down with an epidemic, the measles or something. We had some very sick kids.

Like other residential schools, Blue Quills frequently had to be quarantined. During those periods no visitors were allowed to enter the school, and the local newspaper would announce that the school was under quarantine.

Occasionally children would be sent to the hospital in St. Paul or to the federal hospital in Edmonton especially when they had tuberculosis. Most diagnoses and treatments were done at the school by the Sister responsible. Regularly cod liver oil and castor oil were given to the children with the following effect.

> Once a year the doctor would come in to check our tonsils and our eyes too. And once a year too they used to give you a good dose of castor oil. They were 98 girls and just two toilets and you just got those two little pieces of toilet paper. God that was bad.

Delousing was an annual procedure also, and was carried out when the children returned from their summer vacation.

In the infirmary as well as in other areas of residential life, students were segregated by sex. This regular separation of boys from girls was characteristic of the church and staff's concern about student morals. One student described the practices such concern led to:

> When we were 12 and over our bust started to grow. They used to make us wear this real tight binder, like the kind you wear after you have a baby. They were so tight so there'd be no bulges on the apron, because that was a sin. You know most of those girls now all have flat breasts. They made us feel ashamed of our bodies to keep the virtue and modesty. We were girls and we had to be modest.

Segregation was practiced in other areas too; "The boys and girls were separated, and the children were even separated from themselves. There was the little boys, the middle ones, and the older ones." In the children's dining room or refectory the boys sat on one side and the girls on the other.

> If you smiled at a boy in the dining room you'd be told to take your plate and walk up and down between the tables, and everyone would laugh at you. It was real embarassing. You didn't dare smile across the table at the boys.

The children were also separated in the chapel. A nun who taught at the school explained this practice to be a reflection of wishes of the native community; "When they went to church it's understood they each went their separate ways. That's the way it is with Indians." After the children's first communion the little girls in their white dresses and veils and the boys in their new black suits would pose for pictures on the front steps of the school, each child clasping their hands in prayer with the boys standing on one side of the steps and the girls on the other.

Communion and mass were the primary forms of the students' religious activities. The children also listened to the "Catholic Hour" on the radio. In the 1930's Archbishop MacDonald of Edmonton came to Blue Quills, and spoke of the church's lay program, Catholic Action. He advised the children that they should have Catholic papers in their homes and read such publications in school. A grade three boy wrote about competing Indian practices:

> I will listen when Sister reads to us in school, so that I can tell my parents when I go home for holidays. We should never go to sun dances, and we should try to stop it if we can by telling our parents it is forbidden by God. We should try to give good example to the children who do not come to school yet. I will never go to a sun dance.[129]

After Father Balter's arrival as school principal in 1936, the students were taught catechism in Cree and given a second class in their language for the Chipewyan speaking students from Cold Lake. Father Balter was the author of a seven volume Cree-French dictionary and spoke both Cree and Chipewyan fluently.[130] A grade four pupil wrote:

> Rev. Father Balter comes to our classroom every morning for catechism. He is teaching us how to write in our own language. We each have a Cree Hymn Book and the New Testament in Cree characters. We often translate from English into Cree. We receive a Cree Magazine every month from Hobbema and we enjoy reading them.[131]

There were two language groups at Blue Quills, the Cree and the Chipewyan. At the school the Cree-speakers always outnumbered the Chipewyans and relations between them were often unfriendly. A Cree-speaking woman from Saddle Lake exemplifies these attitudes today:

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[129] Grey Nun Archives, Moccasin Telegram, April 1939.
[130] Gaston Carriere, Dictionnaire Biographique des Oblats de Marie Immaculee au Canada, Tome I (Ottawa: Editions de l'Universite d'Ottawa, 1976), pp. 42-43.
[131] Grey Nun Archives, Moccasin Telegram, September 1937.

> There was a segregation part in the school. Of course these Chip kids you can see they are Chips. Like the Cree will be really humble. But a Chip will just take and won't say please or anything. But us Crees are different. We say "please" and "may I."

Many of the Chipewyan-speaking students learned to speak Cree, but the reverse was less common. A Chipewyan-speaking woman from Cold Lake recalled:

> Sometimes it was a battle. The Cree would speak their own language and we'd speak ours. You got to know their language faster than they could understand us. They couldn't even talk our language. And we could even say our prayers in Cree.

The language of instruction was English, but because the priests and Sisters were from French speaking religious orders they frequently spoke French among themselves and in front of the children. One pupil said perceptively, "The Sisters who looked after us always spoke to us in French; if I was smart at the time I could of learned the French language." The issue of language and schooling evokes some strong criticisms of Blue Quills by former students. One said:

> I think trying to kill off our language and culture was the worst thing they could do. They wouldn't even give us their language. I don't think I would feel this way if they'd taught us French. The only thing I know in French is, "Sacré maudit sauvage." Every time the nun got mad, "Sacré maudit sauvage." That's what they said and that's the only thing I remember.

Catechism

Catechism instruction, whether in a native language or English, was significant in the school's efforts to develop the children's spiritual life. One of the earliest catechisms used was Father Lacombe's Pictorial Catechism, ("Composed by Rev. A. Lacombe, O.M.I., missionary, used with success for the speedy and easy instruction of Indians, children and uneducated people," printed by Beauchemin in 1875; see Figures 3a to 3c). The pictorial catechism is a visual reconstruction of church "history" beginning with creation and the Old Testament (Figure 3c), proceeding with the birth of Christ and the New Testament (Figure 3b), and concluding with the discovery of America and the final judgment (Figure 3a). Figure 3a is particularly significant for Indian mission work since after the discovery of America Indians appear on the Way of Evil, with attempts made by the missionaries to lead them across to the Way of Good. The large catechisms, 180 cm. by 30 cm., hung in the classrooms and children's recreation rooms; pocket-size copies would be used by missionaries on the reserves. Father Lacombe's Pictorial Catechism was used at Blue Quills until the 1950's, occasionally referred to in specific catechism classes and was always one of the school icons. One student said:

> The only cultural component was in the area of catechism. They had two roads going up, one going up to heaven had all white people and the one going to hell had all Indian people.

In classroom instruction the Baltimore Catechism was used.[132]

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[132] Although it is impossible to determine the exact texts used, conversation with former nuns and priests suggests that some version of the Baltimore Catechism was used from 1930 to 1970. New series such as "Come to the Father" were

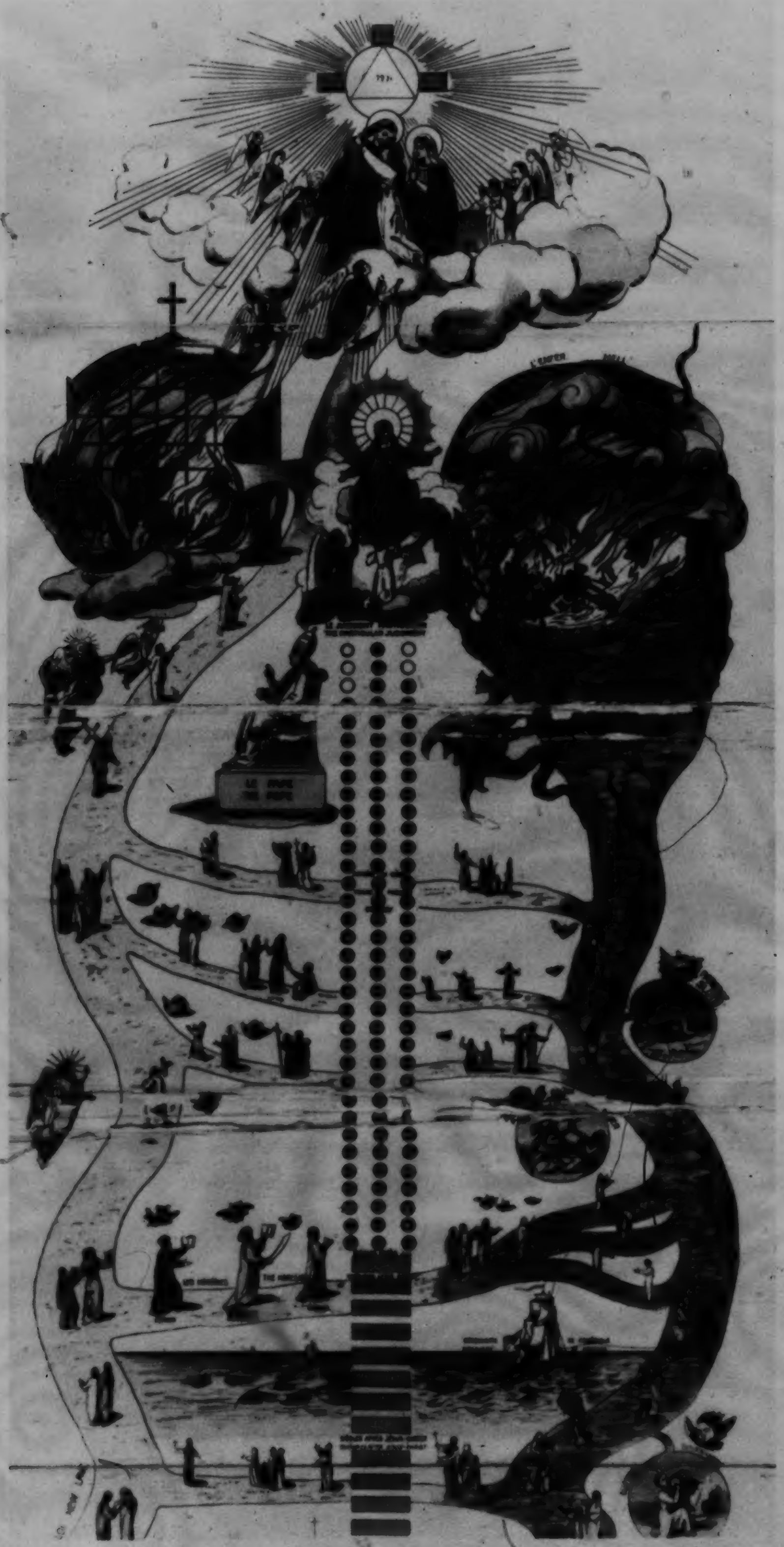

FIG. 3a FATHER LACOMBE'S PICTORIAL CATECHISM (...con't.)

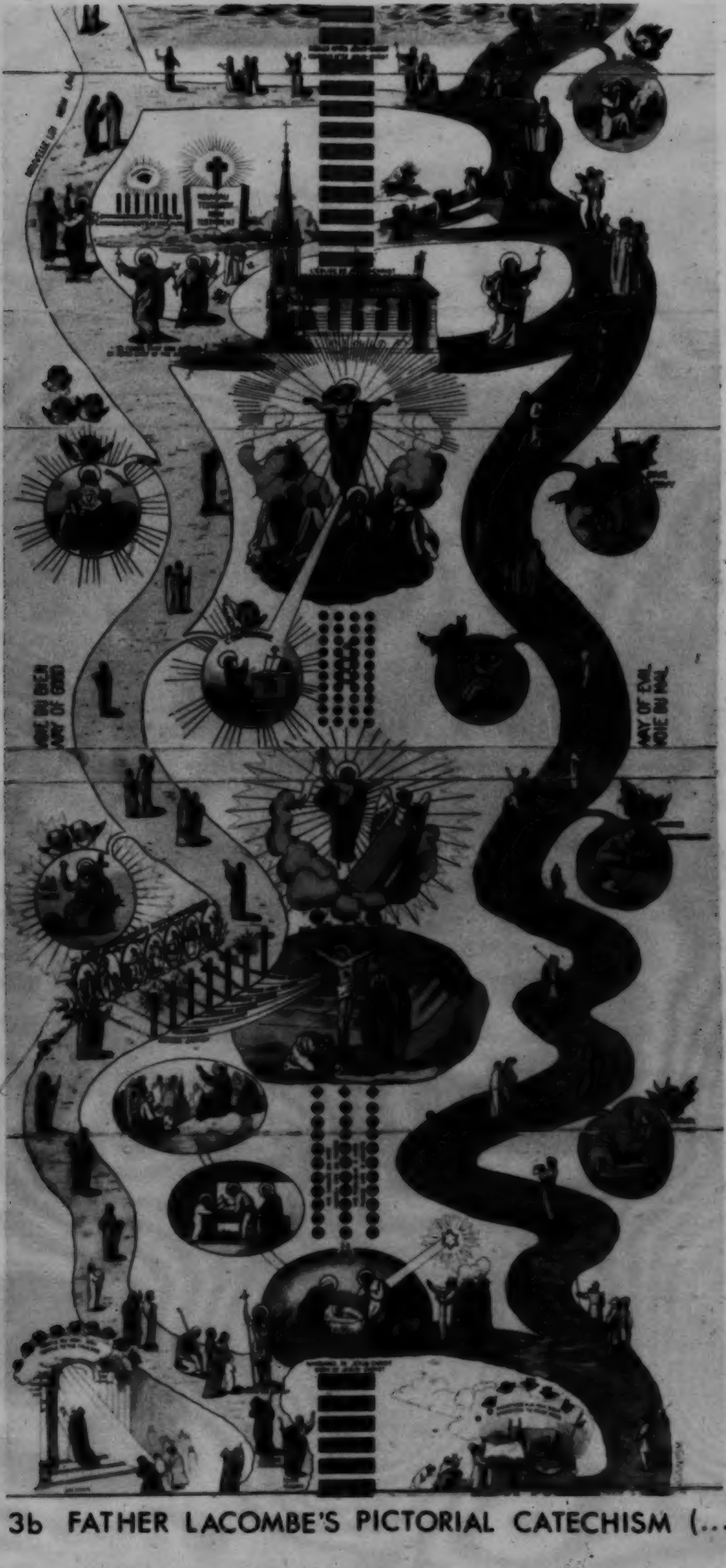

FIG. 3b FATHER LACOMBE'S PICTORIAL CATECHISM (...con't.)

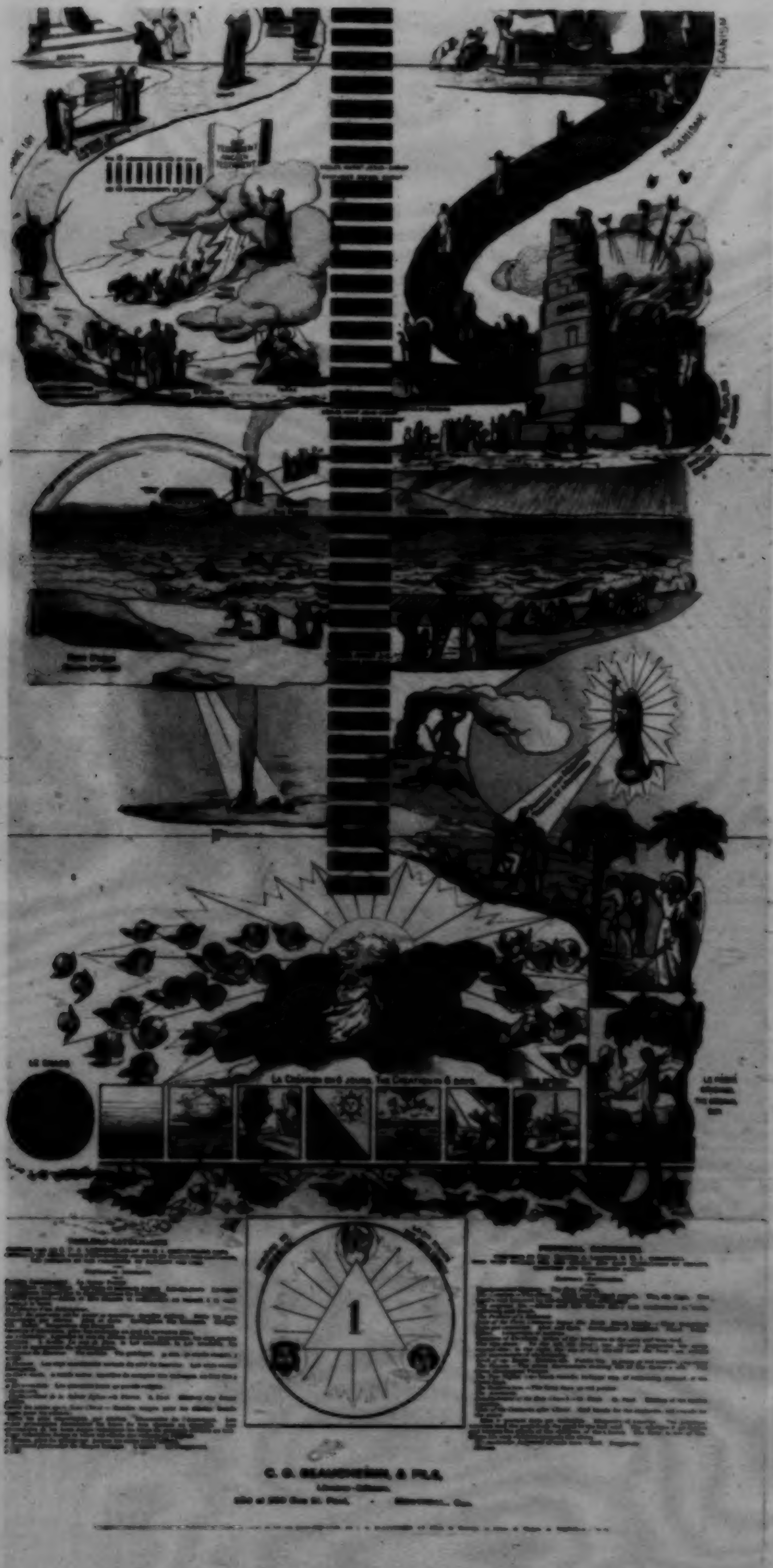

FIG. 3c FATHER LACOMBE'S PICTORIAL CATECHISM

Although different ones were used for the various grades and revised editions were printed, the catechisms had a similar format. This included the Creed, the Commandments, and Sacraments and prayer; a lesson could then be provided to illustrate the particular subject. For example, the lesson for the part for the Creed "I believe in...the Holy Catholic Church" contained: an introduction to the structure of the church including a pyramidal diagram; a word study with definitions for key terms such as Sovereign Pontiff and sacrifice; a question/answer section such as "Who founded the Church? Jesus Christ founded the church."; a sentence completion and matching column section; and questions testing interpretation.[133] A teacher's manual[134] accompanied the catechism and provided activities for the class and answers to the children's catechism book.

Parental Involvement

Parents were permitted to visit their children on weekends. There were two guest houses at the edge of the school property. They were shacks which had been moved from Saddle Lake to the school for use by visiting parents. Parents would camp in these guest houses and visit their children in the separate Indian parlour room at the school.

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[132](cont'd)not translated into English until the late 1960's and likely were not used at Blue Quills.

[133] see Michael A. McGuire, Baltimore Catechism No. 2 (New York: Benziger Bros., 1962).

[134] see Mary Philip, Teacher's Manual for Sister Annunziata's First Communion Catechism (New York: Benziger Bros., 1947).

> If I was lucky once a year I would see my mother but my father came several times. To come to St. Paul you had to come with a team, and it takes a whole day if you lived in Saddle Lake. Half a day to come and half a day back.

Because of the greater distance from school to home children from Cold Lake saw their parents less often than those from Saddle Lake, perhaps only at Christmas and Easter and then during the summer vacation. In the late 1930's the parents could, if they obtained permission from the principal, take their children from school and into St. Paul for the day. Although parents had only limited contact with their children, their opinions about the residential school did not go unrecognized.

If the principal was unhappy with the children's behavior, which prompted him to ask for money to build a fence around the playground to keep the pupils from running away,[135] the Indian parents were also unhappy with the treatment their children were receiving from the principal. The Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs wrote to Father Langlois of the Oblate Provincial House in 1932 that the principal "has lost the confidence of a great number of the Indians in the vicinity, and...I ask you to remove him at once...or...(the) results would be unsatisfactory and we would seriously have to consider closing the institution."[136]

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[135] Public Archives of Canada, R. G. 10, Vol. 6346, file 751-1, part 4, 24 June 1932.
[136] Provincial Archives of Alberta, Oblate Accession 71.220, fol. 57, B-VIII-340, 26 March 1932.

The accusations against this principal from the parents were that two girls had been beaten with a rawhide strap and locked in an outside toilet during the cold winter; the Sisters were accused of "correcting some girls when they had menstruation."[137] (The accusations were denied.) Parental concern also can be seen from this entry in the school chronicle:

> Les sauvages ayant recu l'injonction d'amener leurs enfants à l'école, sinon la police s'en occupera, quelques parents obéissent à l'ordre aujourd'hui. Mais il y a en a encore qui font la sourde oreielle.[138]

When the inspector of Indian agencies met with the bands of the Saddle Lake Agency in 1932, he reported that all the parents were anxious to have a day school established. The inspector wrote, "evidently there has been considerable outside influence in the matter, advising the Indians that they could demand day schools on reserves where there is no school."[139] He advised the bands that the matter of a day school was absolutely a dead issue, since Blue Quills had been built for the Catholic children of the agency.

When the inspector visited the agency again in 1939 he received two resolutions from the Saddle Lake Band. The first requested the department replace one of the Blue Quills teachers, Mr. Pitre, or "make him do his work properly." The second resolution read, "That, whereas the present system of education of Indians has failed it is resolved that Indian schools as at present constituted and operating be closed and competely abolished."[140]

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[137] Ibid., 14 April 1932.
[138] Grey Nun Archives, Chroniques de Blue Quills Residential School, 1 May 1932.
[139] Public Archives of Canada, R. G. 10, Vol. 6346, file 751-1, part 4, 24 August 1932.

The principal responded to this resistence by stating that "In our work we are often handicapped by the parents themselves."[141] He expressed surprise at the criticism of the school and concluded that even the criticism would "not decrease our ardent desire to continue to work for them (the Indians) and for the welfare of their children, hoping that the younger generation will show more appreciation of the sacrifices made for them."[142]

Earlier that year Chief Moses and the Councillors of Saddle Lake had written the department asking for the dismissal of Mr. Tuck, the boys' disciplinarian, detailing two cases of abuse. Tuck was charged with hitting a young boy in the face, and rubbing another small boy's face in feces when the child lost bowel control.[143] The department investigated the parental charges and replied that they had been exaggerated.

The Indian community expressed increasing opposition to the residential school. As a former student said, "I felt more free, even though it was war time in the army, than I did at school." In the fall of 1946 the parents refused to return their children to the school because a supervisor whom they disliked was still there. This resulted in the person being given notification to leave. As the principal recorded in the school logbook, "C'est persecution sous de dans toutes les Rèserves, mais il est un fait averé c'est peu les indiennes en géneral arrivent leurs écoles residentielles et ici en particulier."[144]

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[140] Provincial Archives of Alberta, Oblate Accession 71.220, fol. 57, B-VIII-340, 21 September 1939.
[141] Ibid., 7 October 1939.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Ibid., 29 April 1939.

A man who was a student at the school and subsequently a parent of children who were also students at the Blue Quills School said,

> I think residential schools caused a lot of mental anguish between parents and children. It developed to the state where there was a breakdown in the relationship. Education was a colonization of Indian people.

Many children and parents would agree with one student's comment, "To sum it up, it was a hell of a place."

Indians of the Saddle Lake Agency had a long history of political activity and involvement. The Indian Association of Alberta was an outgrowth of two groups, both of which involved Saddle Lake Indians. The first of these groups, the League of Indians of Western Canada, was established in 1919 and was dominated by Crees and Assiniboines from Saskatchewan and with considerable support coming from the Saddle Lake bands, and the second, the League of Indians of Alberta, was established in the early 1930's.[145]

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[144] Provincial Archives of Alberta, Oblate Accession 71.220, box 7, 15 September 1946.

[145] Hugh A. Dempsey, "The History of the Indian Association," Kainai News 15 June 1970; Keith Johnson, "Indian Association of Alberta: Formative Educational

Both of these were gradually replaced by the Indian Association of Alberta which was formed in 1939 and was originally an affiliation of reserves from the Edmonton, Hobbema and Saddle Lake agencies.

The 1940's saw heightened political activity among Alberta Indian groups to pressure the government on issues of hunting and fishing rights, health services, and education. In 1947 the Indian Association of Alberta sent an unofficial delegation to the Joint Committee of the Senate and Commons on Indian Affairs, which successfully challenged the government's clause linking education with compulsory enfranchisement.

F. FORMAL STRUCTURE AND ADMINISTRATION

The department representative with whom the local church dealt most was the Indian agent. He communicated to the Superintendent of Indian Education in Ottawa. When the agent, Mr. Gullion, reported that the principal had beaten two girls and locked them in the outside toilet during the winter, the Superintendent wrote the Oblate Provincial Superior,

> His (Father Angin) method of dealing with Indians is clearly unfortunate, and, if given publicity by an investigation, might be undesirable in his case, to say the least... I do not believe it would be subversive of discipline on the reserve if Father Angin now left quietly. The Indians could not feel that they have won any "Victory "... .[146]

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[145](cont'd)Concerns" (M.Ed. thesis, University of Alberta, 1977).

[146] Provincial Archives of Alberta, Oblate Accession 71.220, fol. 57, B-VIII-340, 8 April 1932.

The principal wrote of the incident, "Si j'ai perdu la confiance des Indiens, je puis dire qu'il y a beau temps que l'agent a perdu la confiance des Indiens; ils ont fait une pétition dernièrement pour la faire partir; ils le disent menteur, paresseux et bon à rien."[147]

In the summer of 1936 when whooping cough broke out on the reserves, the doctor and agent decided that the school should not open in the fall until the children had recovered. The principal was very upset by this decision because he had not been consulted before the action was taken and because the school would loose government grant money for the period it was closed. He complained to the department that, "It would be as well as to put a wood stick as agent instead of Gullion but with this difference that a wood stick would cost nothing to the government whilst Gullion costs $1900 of salary per year."[148]

Relations between the department and the church were not always characterized by this degree of antagnoism however, and there were a number of areas of mutual interest. These will be elucidated by describing four aspects of schooling at Blue Quills: the program of study, attendance, teacher recruitment and qualifications, and finances.

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[147] Ibid., 9 April 1932.

[148] Public Archives of Canada, R. G. 10, Vol. 6347, file 751-10, part 1, 16 December 1936.

The Work-Study Program

Because the government philosophy of Indian education was to provide the students with practical skills as well as basic literacy up to the eighth grade of the Alberta curriculum, and because the church was responsible for accomplishing these goals with limited finances, Blue Quills had a school program where the students studied in the classroom for half the day and worked at school jobs for the other half. This program was described by a female and male student respectively:

> As soon as you were in grade 4 or 5, you were taking half a day of school and half a day of work. It rotated. One month you were in the kitchen, then one month in the sewing room, and one month in the laundry. Laundry means hauling in snow, hanging the clothes outside, then bringing them in the next day and hanging them in the boiler room, folding them and ironing them. The kitchen was washing dishes and helping peeling potatoes. And in the sewing room you started with mending and graduated to sewing. By the time you left school you were able to make anything, even a suit.
>
> We had about 150 head of cattle, we milked about 25 all the time, and then about 300 hogs. We had a pork room and butchered our own pork and beef. We made butter out of milk too. Of course we never ate it, somebody else did. The school kind of looked after itself. I don't think that I took any grades; at that time it was an industrial school. Mostly we worked for the school.

The Indian Affairs school inspector reported in 1934 that the school had 130 acres in wheat, oats and green feed, 4 acres of potatoes, and one and a half acres of garden, with future plans to have about 200 acres under cultivation. (He also indicated that the school was well managed and "that conditions at this institution are very favorable.")[149]

When the school expanded its farming operation a few years later it employed two farm instructors to oversee the work of the senior boys who spent half days on the farm, one boy wrote in the school newspaper:

> We boys, who are to be discharged at the end of this term are quite busy. We work half days on the farm. Then we put in a forenoon or an afternoon in class. At night on the days that there are classes we return to the class from seven to eight o'clock. We have been taking a course which we call Farm Economics. It has taken in already a study of soils, the cultivation of the land, choosing a home-site and shelter on the site. We also study about the animals we should have to make a living from the land, that is the horse, cows and hogs. In the meantime, during our spare hours we make a practical study of shelter on home-site by constructing a miniature log-house.[150]

For the girls, developing skill in sewing through non-academic rewards was a part of the regular school routine. One related, "You started with mending, and you got paid too. You had a scribbler and for every hole you mended you had five cents. But you didn't get that five cents. At the end of the year whoever had the most got a holy picture." The church rewarded domestic skills with holy pictures and by having a merit system where students could accumulate points for academic and manual work. The department awarded emblems for achievements in knitting, sewing, and housekeeping on the basis of these points.[151]

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[149] Public Archives of Canada, R. G. 10, Vol. 6346, file 751-1, part 5, 16 June 1934.
[150] Grey Nun Archives, Moccasin Telegram, January/February 1940.

Students entered their handicraft items in the annual city exhibitions held in Edmonton and Calgary. When money prizes were won some of the winnings would usually go to purchasing material for the next fair. One woman recalled:

> The older girls would do a lot of embroidery work for the exhibition. One year I got $15; that was a fortune. And out of the $15 I gave $10 to my Dad. I thought I was very, very smart. And I kept my $5 for a long time. You could spend money on the canteen there, or order something from Eaton's catalogue.

One result of the work and study program often meant that academic progress was sacrificed for institutional labour. When a department inspector visited the school in March of 1941 he reported that "the attempt to adapt the public school curriculum to Indian schools is meeting with only partial success"[152] and suggested that the half day work half day study program was affecting pupil progress negatively. However, the school could point out that in spite of these inadequacies one of their former students, Josephine Paskweyak, had gone on to the public school in St. Paul to complete grade twelve with the highest marks in the province.[153]

The principal felt that the school could become more effective by adding a manual training program for the senior boys. Consequently, in the spring of 1941 an addition was built on to the east end of the school building. It was to contain a recreation room, a classroom, a manual training shop, and a dormitory for the bigger boys. The department agreed to the addition on the condition that it be paid for entirely by the church, and that the addition would not be used as a basis in the future to request an increase in enrolment.[154]

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[151] Grey Nun Archives, Chroniques de Blue Quills Residential School, 26 March 1944.
[152] Provincial Archives of Alberta, Oblate Accession 71.220, fol. 57, B-VIII-340, 10 March 1941.
[153] St. Paul Journal, 10 October 1941.

Apart from the farm employees who supervised the boys' work on the farm, the teachers at the school were Grey Nuns. In 1933 the first secular teacher, Stanislas Pitre (mentioned above) was hired to conduct the boys' classes. The school followed the Alberta curriculum during the half day but placed special emphasis on language, reading, domestic science, manual training and agriculture. The boys and girls had been together in classes from grades one to four, and then upon entering grade five, they were separated in class and took part in the half day program--farming and manual work for boys and domestic work for girls (see Plate 2, page 170). After 1942 the boys and girls were together from grades one to eight, and classrooms of two or more combined grades were not unusual. A nun who taught at the school in the 1930's described her experience as:

> I had pupils up to 17 years old in grade 2. I would have different sizes of desks in the classroom since I had 8 year olds too. The children were very good, and I think it was easier to teach the Indian children than it was to teach the whites. The Indian children were more humble.

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[154] Public Archives of Canada, R. G. 10, Vol. 6346, file 751-5, part 6, 11 June 1941.

Some pupils were humble. One woman said, "The teachers were very good to us, regardless of what we were. We couldn't speak our English you know." To other students the situation was quite different, "The overall education was substandard. The teachers themselves were illiterate, nuns every one of them and they were all Frenchmen."

Attendance

In the first year of the school's operation, Father Angin wrote Duncan Campbell Scott requesting that compulsory schooling be enforced for every child from ages 7 to 18. The principal also noted that the expenses of his school could not be met with a small number of pupils. When the department reminded the principal that children over sixteen could not be kept in a residential school without the permission of the Superintendent General, Father Angin expressed surprise, claiming that the farms adjoining boarding schools were for training boys from 16 to 18 years old. If girls were kept at the school until they were only 16, he felt that their training in cooking and sewing would be less effective. He also reasoned, "the big girls should be retained at school till they be 18, which is the usual age of marriage, in order to prevent them from immorality on the reserves."[155]

After six years as principal of Blue Quills Father Angin was transferred to the Thunderchild School at Delmas, Saskatchewan in 1936. He returned to Blue Quills in 1952 when he was 65 years old, and spent the remainder of his life there. In the summer of 1942 Father Louis-Clement Latour, 27, came to Blue Quills to study Cree with Father Balter. Shortly after his arrival Father Latour was appointed principal of the school and Father Balter, who was then 69, stayed on to serve as confessor and catechism instructor.

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[155] Public Archives of Canada, R. G. 10, Vol. 6346. file 751-10, part 1, 23 June 1934.

Although the department requirement discharging pupils at 16 years of age was the same when Father Balter was principal, the Saddle Lake agent was concerned with pupil recruitment. He was "loath to use force to get recruits"[156] but planned a recruiting campaign to improve attendance at the school.

The attendance record of students at both day and residential schools had never seemed completely satisfactory to the department, and they attempted to correct the situation in 1945 by making receipt of Family Allowance dependent on school children attending. If parents refused to enrol their children in a residential school when directed to do so by the department, then the payment of Family Allowance was immediately suspended. As the government explained to the churches, "Should Indians escape the consequences of non-attendance of their children at school, even in isolated cases, it would be exceedingly difficult to enforce the legislation in a general sense."[157] Making Family Allowance dependent upon school attendance was both a means of enforcing the department's educational policies, and of furthering their control of the Indian community.

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[156] Public Archives of Canada, R. G. 10, Vol. 6347, file 751-10, part 3, 1 March 1943.

Teacher Recruitment and Qualifications

Indian parents frequently voiced concern over the quality of teachers in residential schools. The department came to the conclusion that the qualifications of the teaching staff were wanting. R. A. Hoey of the Welfare and Training Branch of Indian Affairs wrote Father Balter that "public opinion in the immediate future will almost compel us to insist that the next teachers entering these institutions be fully qualified both in an academic and professional sense."[158] At that time five teachers were employed at the school of whom only two had full professional standing.[159]

The principal's response was that if the school "were obliged to replace our efficient and experienced religious teachers with qualified ones and pay them accordingly it would be impossible practically to carry on."[160] He also said that the department emphasis on manual training and the necessity of the half day work half day study program resulted in some neglect of the provincial academic curriculum.

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[157] Archives Deschatelets, HR6615.C73R, 1-22, April 1945.
[158] Provincial Archives of Alberta, Oblate Accession 71.220, fol. 57, B-VIII-340, 21 September 1939.
[159] Ibid.
[160] Ibid., 7 October 1939.

When a school inspector visited Blue Quills in March of 1941 he reported that "...the members of the teaching staff are too often inadequately qualified for their work."[161] The federal government had become increasingly concerned about the lack of professional training of school teachers in Indian schools and was under growing pressure from unemployed teachers to hire qualified personnel for Indian schools. An inspector advised the Grey Nun Mother Provincial that the government would have a difficult time defending the employment of unqualified teachers should the issue be raised publicly.[162] Teaching was one way a religious order carried out its mission, and nuns were appointed to teach in Indian schools by their religious orders, and although an attempt was made to recruit qualified women, many of them were inadequately prepared. When recruitment was outside the religious community, the poor salary and working conditions of Indian schools often did not attract adequate candidates. And, for the church administrator who was not a teacher, teacher qualifications were secondary to religious ones.

Moreover, the Oblate and Grey Nun training procedures had been carried out in an institution not unlike the residential school. Obedience to authority, self denial, and gestures of penance were the background of religious orders.[163] Recruitment to the residential school resulted in many of the same practices; practices which the department was reluctant to endorse.

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[161] Ibid., 10 March 1941.

[162] Indian Association of Alberta, T.A.R.R., 9.E., 9 January 1940.

The government was becoming increasingly concerned about the effectiveness of residential schools. In a confidential letter to the Alberta Inspector of Indian Agencies, the Superintendent of Welfare and Training of the department wrote, "A number of the individuals who have written to me are convinced that the educational program in Alberta is far below the standard provided at our Indian day and residential schools in the other provinces."[164] The department was reluctant to approve a project proposed by the Canada-Newfoundland Educational Association to investigate the Alberta Indian residential schools until the church authorities were able to strengthen and revise their programs.[165] In addition to improved qualifications for teachers, the department wanted the course of studies to become more vocational. The inspector for Alberta Indian Agencies wrote of the course of studies:

> The matter of an educational programme for Indian Schools is one which I think deserves serious consideration: this has been mentioned to me by a number of our R. C. School teachers, who state they find the Provincial course is too "crammed full" for

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[163] George Orwell, "Such, Such Were the Joys," Partisan Review 19 (1951); Doley C. Moss, Of Cell and Cloister: Catholic Religious Orders Through the Ages (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing, 1957); Grey Nuns of the Cross, Mother d'Youville: the Modern Woman (Ottawa, 1963).

[164] Indian Association of Alberta, T.A.R.R., 9.E., 9 January 1940.

[165] Ibid.

> Indian children of certain grades. All teachers agree that vocational training is most important, and some even ask why the old industrial school training was abandoned.[166]

Finances

Blue Quills was a government owned Indian school operated by the Catholic church. This meant that the department paid a grant to the principal for each pupil enrolled, and the school authorities expended this grant in the maintenance of the pupils and the school property. A travelling department auditor was appointed in 1933 to make annual audits of receipts and expenditures. The principal was obliged to obtain government authorization for capital expenditures. The Deputy Superintendent General of the department stated in a circular, "I wish to emphasize that, unless authority be first obtained, the Department in future will be adverse to assuming responsibility for reimbursing Church authorities or principals of schools for any part of the costs incurred by them for erection of buildings, additions or repairs, or purchase of equipment and furnishings."[167]

The Order in Council (27 October 1892) that established the financial operations of church operated schools made buildings a joint governmental-church responsibility, books and educational supplies a government appropriation, and maintenance costs, salaries and other operating expenses the responsibility of the church. The church would then receive reimbursement from the government on a student per capita basis.[168]

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[166] Ibid.
[167] Provincial Archives of Alberta, Oblate Accession 71.220, box 19, A-V-114, 19 April 1934.

Church requests for additional funds and frequently the Indian agent's requisition recommendations were turned down by the department, particularly during World War II. When the Blue Quills School received $100 for painting and repairs for the year 1938-1939, the department official in Ottawa advised the agent, "In connection with the proposed painting I might say that the cost could be considerably reduced if the school staff were prepared to do the work and only request the Department to supply the material."[169]

The department however did respond favorable to a petition from St. Paul that the road running west from the main highway past the school be gravelled. Although the department legal advisor suggested that making this a grant such as this would create a dangerous precedent,[170] the Minister of Mines and Resources recommended sharing the cost with the Municipal District of St. Paul.

The Second World War put a financial strain on Indian Affairs operations, and principals of residential schools were told "for the duration of the war it is hoped that those preparing requisitions will do so with the thought in mind that only the necessary text books etc. are ordered."[171]

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[168] Daniels, p. 161.
[169] Public Archives of Canada, R. G. 10, Vol. 6346, file 751-5, part 6, 18 March 1938.
[170] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, School Lands, Vol. 1, file 779/36-4-009, 14 August 1944.
[171] Provincial Archives of Alberta, Oblate Accession 71.220,

Similarly at the same time principals of Indian residential schools received a memorandum informing them that the amount provided in per capita grants would be no more than 92.24 per cent of their authorized pupilage and as a temporary measure they had department permission to reduce enrolment to the percentage upon which per capita payments were based. For Blue Quills who were authorized 140 pupils at a per capita grant of $165, this meant a reduction of $1,792.56 in the total operating grant. Since at this date the school had actually enroled 167 pupils, this meant that the real per capita grant was less than $128 per actual enrolee.

One way in which the school responded to these economic restrictions was to end the informal policy of keeping pupils in school beyond the age of 16. The department as well as the church had allowed some students, especially girls, to stay on after their sixteenth birthday, and the church had argued this was necessary for moral reasons. Philip Phelan of the department's Welfare and Training Branch wrote Father Balter that "Until further advised you should make arrangements for the discharge of pupils when they reach the age of sixteen unless there are some very exceptional circumstances and in this event full particulars should be given to the Department and our permission obtained before such pupils reach the age of 16."[172]

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[171] (cont'd)box 55, B-VIII-320, 13 April 1940.
[172] Public Archives of Canada, R. G. 10, Vol. 6346, file 751-10, part 2, 23 February 1940.

G. CHANGING RELATIONS BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE

In 1943 a group representing the various church denominations involved in Indian education presented a memorandum to the Minister of Mines and Resources, who was also Minister of Indian Affairs. Their concerns were over "an orderly progression from a war time economy to a peace time order."[173] In the matter of attendance, "the war was the excuse rather than the reason for the fact that some of our schools found it almost impossible to get anything like the full quota in attendance until very late in the fall."[174] For example, of the 140 authorized pupils the number of students at Blue Quills during 1943 were: January, 119; June, 126; September, 82; December 1, 126; and December 30, 141. The committee urged that more effort be placed on enforcing attendance. They also asked the government for assistance in developing suitable curricula for Indian residential schools.

With reference to residential schools, the committee requested the government end its payment of only 92.24 per cent of the authorized quota of students and pay 100 per cent. A cost of living bonus was required, the memorandum stated, as "the time has come for us to say that we can not any longer continue to assume the difference in the cost of operation between what the government is now paying the

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[173] Provincial Archives of Alberta, Oblate Accession 71.220, box 26, X4, 12 January 1943.
[174] Ibid.

Churches in per capita grants and the present cost of providing for the needs of children in these schools."[175]

For the government, the time had come to re-examine its relationship with the churches in relation to Indian education. Although the kind of school experiences the students had remained relatively unchanged from 1931 to the mid 1940's, changes in the relationship between the church and the government were more pronounced. For example, the department was critical of the kind of teachers found in residential schools and doubtful of the results produced by such institutions. Because of their doubts they were less likely to meet the financial requests of the administrator.

Along with the changing relationsip between the church and the department during this decade, the school was becoming less isolated. In the beginning Blue Quills students had little contact with the world outside the residential school. A former pupil recalls, "We didn't have any chance to interact with other people. It was an institution with a big wire fence around it, literally." Occasionally the school took part in a social function in St. Paul, such as the annual school talent festival where the children would perform songs and recitations. But although the local newspaper would occasionally write sympathetically about native people, one student recalled, "In St. Paul there was mostly white people and they didn't mix much at the time (with us)." Visitors to the school included carpenters who were working on new buildings such as a granary or chicken house, or persons attending religious assemblies of Oblates or Grey Nuns, and the occasional visit by a department official. These visitors had little to do with the pupils however.

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[175] Ibid.

With the arrival of a new principal, Leo Balter, Blue Quills experienced a number of changes in 1936. A new guest house was built for the Indian visitors and a bungalow was constructed for the school baker. A brass band was started for the boys and a skating rink was built for their hockey games. The pupils and teachers from the school in St. Paul visited Blue Quills for the first time and were reported "aimables et sympathiques à nos chers enfants des bois."[176] One of the most significant changes under Father Balter was in the area of language use. It has been discussed previously. Priests stayed at the school to study Cree with Father Balter and gave their first Cree sermon during chapel at the school as well as conducting catechism classes in Cree.

Another significant change introduced under Father Balter was the publication of a school newspaper, the "Moccasin Telegram." Most of the articles written by the students were on topics such as "Picking Blueberries," "How We Expect to Spend Christmas," and "Our Radio." Teachers would contribute items on the history of the school and on effective use of a blackboard for discipline; for example, removing a star was punishment.

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[176] Grey Nun Archives, Chroniques de Blue Quills Residential School, 18 May 1937.

With the inception of the "Moccasin Telegram" the students began to correspond with other Indian Schools including St. Anthony's (Lloydminster, Sask.). Thunderchild (Delmas, Sask.), Ermineskin (Hobbema, Alta.) and St. Mary's (Kenora, Ont.) regarding school news. The publication also started to use Cree syllabics, prompting Provincial Director Father Langlois to write to the students, "When you speak to Almighty God in your prayers and in your hymns, as well as when you speak and write to your dear parents, use the language that God has given your forefathers."[177]

The end of the Second World War marked the beginning of a new direction for Indian education. Whereas the Hawthorn Report has described government policies of the period from Confederation to 1945 as being that of "paternalistic ideology," the years after 1945 were called those of "democratic ideology, and the Indian as a full-fledged citizen." "The post-war period witnessed a new trend in federal government policy in Indian Affairs. Initiative on the part of the Indian and the opening of reserves to the outside world were fostered."[178]

Blue Quills had experienced considerable change during the fifteen years it had been in operation. In December 1931 there were 2 Oblates, 9 Grey Nuns, and 84 students at Blue Quills; by December 1946 there were 3 Oblates, 13 Grey Nuns, 140 students, and 4 secular male employees. The next fifteen years would bring even more growth in the areas of church influence, government control, and Indian participation. This development will be the subject of the next chapter.

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[177] Grey Nun Archives, Moccasin Telegram, 10 December 1938.
[178] Hawthorn, p. 23.

III. ASSIMILATION THROUGH INTEGRATION

Until the late 1940's Indian education had been characterized by an isolationist policy. The government under the Indian Act had established a policy under which the Department of Mines and Resources administered Indian Affairs,[179] although in the area of education the government had been content to let the churches develop this policy with little interference. The policy of the federal government was to assimilate the Indian within the isolated and protective environment of the reserve and residential school. On the other hand, the Roman Catholic Church was concerned with civilizing the native through Catholicism. Indian people, on the receiving end of state and church policies, occasionally resisted these authorities, but more often acquiesced.

This protectionist and isolationist philosophy began to change after the war. The government had begun to question the effectiveness of the policy, and attempted in a few cases to send Indian children to provincial schools. Because these early experiments were regarded as successful, a program was developed with the goal of integration of the Indian into Canadian society through schooling. This policy was to dominate the planning and policy of the Indian Affairs Branch from 1945 into the 1960's. It was expanded to include integration into the economic and social life of Canada as well. This chapter examines the development of the policy of assimilation through integration during the period from 1945 to 1960.

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[179] The responsibility for the administration of Indian Affairs was with the Federal Department of Mines and Resources from December 1936 to January 1950. Prior to this period, from July 1873 to November 1936, the Department of the Interior had housed Indian Affairs. From January 1950 to December 1965 the Department of Citizenship and Immigration contained the Indian Affairs Branch, and from January 1966 to the present the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development has been responsible for Indians. For a complete list of Departments and Ministers up to 1973, see Daniels, pp. 290-291.

The topics covered in this chapter include a discussion of the changing relationship between the government and the church. A description of their concerns for the school is followed by an account of Indian student and community participation. The ways in which conflict was generated in the school, and the ways in which the Indian community, church, and department sought to regulate this conflict provides the framework in which the data are presented.

A. THE FEDERAL VIEW

Between 1945 and 1960 there was a change in the federal view of Indians and education from a philosophy of isolation to one of integration. The development of this new view and its application to Blue Quills is the concern of the following section.

Joint Committee on Indian Affairs, 1946-1948

The Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on the Indian Act held meetings between 1946 and

1948 which led to recommendations which brought a gradual end to the educational segregation of Indian children.

Although uninvited, submissions made by representatives of native groups emphasized the need for a change in policy. The North American Indian Brotherhood's brief asked that "all denominational schools within reservations be abolished and the education of Indians be committed to regional boards upon which Indians in the region's districts shall be represented by Indians."[180] One recommendation from the 1946 hearings was that the Indian Affairs Branch draft plans for the expansion and construction of Indian day schools.

Anthropologist, Diamond Jenness, presented a brief to the committee in 1947 stating that the separate political and social status of the Indian should be abolished within twenty-five years (by 1972). He said one way to accomplish this was to "change the present Indian educational system by abolishing separate Indian schools and placing Indian children in the regular provincial schools."[181] The Special Joint Committee recommended that the sections of the _Indian Act_ pertaining to education be revised and that wherever possible Indian children be educated with non-Indian children.

In September 1949 the method of financing church operated residential schools was changed. Initially, the department chose to pay the salaries of only some teachers employed at such schools, but by 1954 it employed all teachers in residential schools. Prior to this time teachers had been employees of the various religious denomination operating schools.

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[180] Canada, _Proceedings of the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on the Indian Act, 1947_ (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1947), p. 138.
[181] Ibid., p. 150.

The Indian Act of 1951

A significant change in the legislation concerning Indian education was the new Indian Act of 1951. The main changes were that:

> ...(a) the minister in charge of Indian Affairs could now enter into agreements whereby the day-to-day administration of Indian education could be transferred to provincial or territorial governments or to individual school boards within provinces and territories, and (b) that previous two-barrelled system which enabled both the minister and Band Councils to frame rules and regulations relating to education was ostensibly abolished.[182]

These changes officially increased the number of authorities which could provide educational services for Indian children. Although the federal government would continue to provide the funding, as more students became enrolled in provincial schools, or had their reserve schools operated by the provincial system, the goal was the eventual merging of the two systems.[183]

The new Indian Act formalized the general aim of the federal government which was the integration of Indians into Canadian society. Education was considered the principal means for achieving this aim because more Indian children were to be placed in provincial schools.

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[182] Daniels, p. 106.
[183] Ibid., p. 107.

Theoretically, under the new Act religious rights of pupils were to be protected by insuring that no child could be admitted to a school operated under the auspices of the church of the parents' Christian affiliation without written parental consent. But in practice if parents were reluctant to sign the admission forms for their children, the school principal would sign for them. A priest at Blue Quills said, "Many times in those days the "X" (on the admission form) came from my own left hand." Similarly Father Jules Bidault, who replaced Father Latour and became acting principal of Blue Quills in January 1947, wrote the department:

> This child (pupil 388) has been examined by the Doctor, and the application (for admission) would have been forwarded long ago, had it not been for the obstination of the father in refusing to sign the application. He has been approached several times, both by the Agent and myself, and his answer is always the same: "I will not sign until I am sure that the child likes it."[184]

In this way the church would control admissions to the school and could bypass the regulations of the department. Parental resistance to department regulations were overcome in this way as well. The department, however, could and did exert their control over the church by inspections of the school.

Government School Inspection

State involvement in the health of Blue Quills students was increasing. For example, in 1948 the school requested funds to build a hen house large enough for 400 birds. It was felt that the children's diet lacked eggs and poultry. The Federal Superintendent of Education responded to Indian agent Taylor,

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[184] Public Archives of Canada, R.G. 10, Vol. 6347, file 751-10, part 4, 8 May 1947.

> We want to deal fairly with the school as we feel it advisable to have children served eggs but it should be distinctly understood that the hen house should only be sufficiently large to accommodate the number of hens required for that purpose. It is not our idea that the school should make this a commercial venture.[185]

The frequent accusation that many residential school vocational training programs were primarily designed to gain revenue for them to make up the deficit from the school's operating costs was a familiar charge to both church and state authorities.

In the late 1940's visits from government school inspectors became more frequent.[186] The customary congratulatory comments recorded by the principal in the school diary regarding inspection changed. After one particular visit it was written:

> Cet inspecteur ne semble pas bien disposé en notre faveur, et de plus donne l'impression d'etre fanatique, posant des questions oiseuves sur la religion et son enseignement dans l'école. Il a fait passer un examen aux élèves du grade V, en epellation et un arithmetique, et refusant de constater le beau travail qui se fait dans le Departement de couture. Il ne peut cependant s'empêcher de constater la propreté de nos enfants et leur au de contentement.[187]

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[185] Public Archives of Canada, R. G. 10, Vol. 6346, file 751-5, part 7, 4 May 1948.

[186] The number of visits by government inspectors was three in 1945 and in 1946. In 1947 six inspections were made and in 1948 this number had increased to eleven.

[187] Provincial Archives of Alberta, Oblate Accession 71.220, Box 7, Tome II, 10 June 1948.

By the 1950's school inspection had become a more formalized procedure and an inspector's report was filed for each classroom teacher. Not only was the teacher "graded" on points such as appearance, discipline, and pupils' progress, but information on other experiences in Indian schools and the number of conventions attended were also noted. A sample of comments from the inspector's reports over a five year period (from 1954 to 1959) for a grade 7 and 8 class is informative:

> The junior high school class is following closely the provincial program. ...In this room we have the best adjusted class of Indian pupils in Alberta.[188]
>
> On a standardized spelling test that was administered the pupils of her class room scored above the norms of the test which were based on Edmonton pupils. ...The pupils greatest weakness appears to be in oral and written language, thus considerable emphasis should be placed on the writing and reporting of pertinent information which should also include creative writing.[189]
>
> The teacher-pupil relationship is excellent. These pupils are working to capacity, are studious and progressing well.[190]

In addition to classroom evaluation, the department inspector also gave impromptu vocational guidance to students. When a Career Night was held in St. Paul, all the students from grade seven to eleven went to town to hear advice on choosing a career.[191] The school staff on occasion gave the students advice too, as one student explained:

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[188] Personal papers from the Grey Nun Regional Centre, Edmonton; Inspector's Report, March 1954.
[189] Ibid., Report of Superintendent of Schools, May 1957 (including inspector comments).
[190] Ibid., May 1959.
[191] Grey Nun Archives, Moccasin Telegram, April-June 1957.

> The only person I remember telling us about outside life was that old priest Father Angin. One of the girls wrote in the suggestion box, "We would like to have somebody come and talk to us about what it's going to be like out there." And we took a vote about who we could have and we all decided that this Father Angin should come and talk to us. So he came up, and the only thing I ever remember him telling us was "Don't ever marry a pilot or a sailor because they go all over the world. And you can bet your bottom dollar he's not sleeping alone when he's gone." I'll always remember that.

There was a concern about school land as indicated in the following discussion. The possibility of natural resource deposits being found on school land prompted the St. Paul Syndicate, a local resource development group, to apply for a petroleum and natural gas lease on the school's land from the Indian Affairs Branch. The department's legal advisor informed the Superintendent of Resources and Trusts that since the land was neither Indian lands nor reserve lands but rather Public Lands, then the federal government could sell or lease any part it so chose.[192]

The director then informed the Indian agent in St. Paul that any interested group should submit an offer for a 21-year lease on a drilling site less than 40 acres large and bid not less than a dollar an acre per year for rental. When three applications for an oil rights lease had been received it was decided that the Indian Affairs Branch of the Department (Of Mines and Resources) could not take part in the matter since the land was Public Lands. The Deputy Minister of Justice advised that the rights to mines and minerals be transferred to the Lands and Development Services Branch of the Department of Mines and Resources. This transfer was made by a Ministerial Order.[193] (During the wait one of the applicants had already drilled a well on the land. There is no record if the well was productive.)

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[192] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, vol. 1, file 779/36-4-009, 29 February 1949.

The Province of Alberta questioned whether the sub-surface rights for mines and minerals on school land could still be under federal jurisdiction after the Alberta Natural Resources Agreement. Because the Natural Resources Agreement went into effect 1 August 1930 and the Privy Council approved the transfer of Blue Quills land from the School Lands Endowment fund on 6 June 1929 (see Appendix B), it was eventually agreed that the former did not affect the latter.

When tenders were finally called for the letting of a petroleum and gas lease covering the school land, no bids were received. The Indian Affairs Branch was advised that the property would not be advertised again unless renewed interest was shown, and that, therefore, the school land would remain undeveloped.[194] Since no interest was forthcoming, the land remained undeveloped.

The highway bordering the southern part of the school land (see Figure 2, page 7) was widened in 1955, and negotiations were completed with the department for the transfer of 2.41 acres to Canadian Utilities for an easement for a power line right of way.[195] The principal requested that the contract for re-erecting the boundary fence be given to the school. Evidence was not found regarding the result of this request.

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[193] Ibid., 9 November 1949.
[194] Ibid., 28 October 1950.

Government Plans for the School, 1956

In March 1956 the government released a survey entitled "Traits Survey of the Educational Facilities and Requirements of the Indians in Canada." The survey was based on the belief that "Education is the crux of the situation as far as the advancement of the Indian is concerned, and is the most effective and potent factor in the process of integration."[196] To achieve this goal, the survey recommended Indian children be educated in non-Indian schools wherever possible, and the problems of age-grade retardation and drop-outs were to be reduced.

The survey covered the nineteen Indian day schools and residential schools in Alberta, and made recommendations for their future developments. Regarding Blue Quills where 212 students attended grades one through nine, the survey stated:

> The Blue Quills School is rather cramped for space and the need for classrooms has encroached upon the areas required for other needs of the residence. The school is well operated and a good morale exists. Although the building is well maintained there are a number of deficiencies which should receive care. ...

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[195] The document specifying the terms of this easement is located in the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, vol. 2, file 779/36-4-009, 19 July 1960.

[196] B. O. Filteau, "Traits Survey of the Educational Facilities and Requirements of the Indians in Canada," Provincial Archives of Alberta, Oblate Accession 71.220, Box 26, X.4, March 1956.

> The situation is favourable, here, for an integrated school program with the St. Paul School System and the recommendations center around such a development.[197]

Specific recommendations were that a new six-room school with auditorium be constructed for the elementary grades (1-6) and that the vacated classrooms in the present school be made into a high school dormitory for students attending school in St. Paul. Grades 7, 8, 9 and the high school pupils were to be integrated with the St. Paul schools, continuing the department's practice of bussing Indian students into public schools. The report suggested that a principal's residence and fourplex teacher's residence be also built in the hope of retaining more male teachers on staff.

In the report, general recommendations were made for all Indian schools. These were: admission age to be lowered to 6 instead of 7 years; pre-school kindergarten classes be established to facilitate acquisition of English; minimize degree of pupil grade retardation by broadening curricula; increase number of secondary school children enrolled; develop pupil occupational skills; appoint more school supervisory staff; and continue integrating students into the public school system.

Although church officials claimed to agree with the government plans in regard to integration and the establishment of day schools, they hoped that the religious affiliation of the student would not be ignored in their enrolment in these schools. An Oblate responding to the report said that it was the responsibility of the government to establish subsidized separate schools for Catholic Indian children, and that Catholic children could not attend neutral schools. The priest said, "I equally disagree with any recommendation tending to limit education to elementary grades in any Catholic residential school unless some satisfactory arrangements cam be made with a public or a separate high school of the same religious denomination in the province."[198]

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[197] Ibid.

As can be seen in Table I, residential schools in the Saddle Lake Agency enrolled less than one third of the total number of children attending school. The increasing number of children in provincial schools and in day schools on the reserves was of concern to church authorities. It was becoming apparent that with fewer children attending residential schools the role of the church was being reduced. This was particularly evident in the discussions about high school.

High School

In 1959 discussions between the department and principals of Catholic Indian residential schools in Alberta concerning Indian high schools were held. The department advanced the idea of a centralized high school for Alberta Indians which was in keeping with the concept of "co-operative education" (the new euphemism for

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[198] Ibid.

Table I

No. of Children Attending School from Bands of the Saddle Lake Agency, 1957*

Band	No. of Children by School			
	Indian Day School	Residential School	Hospital School	Provincial School
Frog Lake	83	7		4
Long Lake	28	21		14
Chipewyan	68	45	1	2
Saddle Lake	163	138		71
TOTAL	342	211	1	91

* As this table indicates, only one third of the children attended a residential school. Of the 211 children in residential school in the Saddle Lake Agency in 1957, 187 were attending Blue Quills Indian Residential School; see Table VII. These numbers suggest that parents could influence the type of school their children attended.

"integration") held by the government. Even though five residential schools had already begun high school programs,[199] the projected enrolment figures indicated that additional facilities would be required.

Father Michaud, the Father Provincial for the Oblates, suggested that it would be better not to build a central high school until the residential schools with high school programs were given time to prove themselves. He cautioned against taking Indian students from the protective environment of the residential school until they were "on the same footing as the whites." Although the Oblates were in favor of integration he said, they held a different opinion as to when and how integration should take place. In Alberta the Oblates felt that integration should not occur until the Indian children were prepared to fit into and be accepted by the larger society. To this the Regional Supervisor of Indian Agencies, Mr. Battle, responded "At what point do we feel that some of the students should be able to step out into the world? We can't keep them forever on the reserve."[200]

Blue Quills was represented at this meeting by the principal, Father Latour. He stated that although it was too early to assess success of the school's attempts at sending high school students to St. Paul, sending them to another outside school would pose special problems. He said that both Indian parents and children preferred residential schools; "when they go to an outside school where this driving supervision is not in evidence, the children seem to lose the enthusiasm they had in previous years."[201] In reviewing the progress made in the high school area, the principal wrote:

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[199] The high schools were at St. Mary's, Ermineskin, Crowfoot, Blue Quills, and Ft. Vermillion schools.
[200] Indian Association of Alberta, T.A.R.R., 9.E., 26 February 1959.

> Separation from younger children is a necessity if we want to see our High School pupils persevere and attain the goal so long desired. To send them back to the reserve or to abandon the control and encouragement that they receive here would endanger their future and retard their integration by 25 years.[202]

Attempts to integrate students by bussing them to the Catholic school in St. Paul began in 1952. Prior to this, Blue Quills students studied high school subjects by correspondence lessons. The number of students living at the Blue Quills residence and attending school in town may be found in Table II . It is interesting to note that the number of females attending school in St. Paul was always more than 50 per cent; 1958 has the lowest percentage at 54.5 and 1960 has the highest at 86.7 per cent.

One teacher commented on the first class of students to attend an integrated school:

> They were bussed to St. Paul, and would come back to Blue Quills every night. The first few months they'd come back and say, "Sister, we're quitting going to that school. The kids are so noisy we can't study and they answer back." This is what I like about the Indians; they don't make much noise, they're noiseless and they will do their work quietly.

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[201] Ibid.

[202] Grey Nun Archives, Moccasin Telegram, April-June 1957.

Table II

No. of Students Attending Grades 9-12 in St. Paul, 1952-65

Year	Number by Grade				Total by Sex		
	Gr. 9	Gr. 10	Gr. 11	Gr. 12	M	F	T
1952	2	5	1				8
1953	1	4	1		3	3	6
1954	(not available)				(not available)		
1955	5	1			2	4	6
1956	3	10	2		5	10	15
1957	8	6	4	1	8	11	19
1958	8	5	6	3	10	12	22
1959	7	5	4	2	4	14	18
1960	6	5	3	1	2	13	15
1961	6	3	3	1	2	11	13
1962	10	4	1	2	4	13	17
1963	7	8	2	2	7	12	19
1964	(not available)				(not available)		
1965	12	6	5	4	7	20	27

However, the students who were part of the early integration move described their situation in more positive terms.

> In the first group there were about 15 of us who went into St. Paul to school. The kids really didn't give us a hard time. Somehow what we lacked in one thing we made up for in another. So we made friends easily. Of course at that time there were still a lot of kids who went to school that were very poor. There was a lot of big families, and they lived on the farm and didn't have much. And so we had something in common with them; we all came from big families and didn't have too much at home.
>
> I kind of felt now you're in with the rest of the world. You've come out of your own little world to get into another world. Kid, you've got to make it. That's the only thing I had in the back of my mind.

These descriptions seem to refute the principal's fears that Blue Quills students would have special problems attending integrated schools.

Students who attended integrated high school had more privileges than their juniors. For example, the girls organized a High School Girls' Club which met Friday evenings to plan socials and discuss problems. Their room, Lourdes Hall, had a kitchenette and they could take their meals on trays to eat there. "The administrators weren't stupid. The high school students were treated almost royally. They got privileges just to give the feeling, 'I want to be a high school student'," said a former student.

One of the Blue Quills grade 9 students, Allen Jacob, achieved a Governor General's award for high marks. For those few who did graduate from grade 12 it left mixed feelings: the excitement of completion, the graduation banquet and exercises, and sometimes a reluctance to invite parents because students were embarassed about them.

The department asserted that a single Indian high school close to a large city would provide a more flexible program than a segregated high school on one of the reserves or near one of the residential schools. The Regional Inspector of Indian Schools felt an ideal situation would be a hostel located in Edmonton similar to that in the Northwest Territories. Classroom accommodation would be provided for the students, with the possibility of selected groups enrolled in city schools. The aim of the proposed Indian high school was to be two-fold. It was a method of integrating students into existing public or separate schools, and it would be a step toward lessening church control of Indian education.

The Catholic principals claimed they represented both the church and the Indian community opinion in not endorsing the government proposal; the students were not ready to be placed in a high school they said, taken "away from their own environment and at the same time (they) wanted to place themselves on a higher plain than they were actually ready for."[203] The principals reiterated that the parents and children themselves had indicated they would prefer high school education to be in a residential school.

When the Minister responsible for Indian Affairs, the Honourable Ellen Fairclough, visited reserves in the Saddle

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[203] Indian Association of Alberta, T.A.R.R., 9.E., 26 February 1959.

Lake Agency in the summer of 1959, she met with Chiefs and Councillors to discuss integration, the merits of residential schools, and schools on the reserves. Day schools were receiving more government support, and the Minister returned to the province to open a day school at Hobbema and a Protestant School at Goodfish Lake later in the year.[204]

The government proposal for an Indian high school was a further indication of the growing difference between church and state views of Indian education. Government memorandums to department field officials and church officials became more strongly stated. A circular to the managers of government-owned residential schools outlined in detail what expenditures the government was to be responsible for while another emphasized the importance of "complete and friendly cooperation" between church and state in the admission and discharge of pupils.

The church wanted assurance that support of a central high school would also mean continued support of residential school facilities. The department said that it would consider a consolidated brief from the Oblates. This brief, presented in October 1959 to the department on behalf of the principals of residential schools reiterated the church's belief that integration, although desirable, should not be hurried or forced. Integration, they said, rather than disintegration of the Indian could be accomplished by expanding the high school facilities at Cardston (St. Mary's School), Hobbema (Ermineskin School), and Cluny (Crowfoot School). For other regions, including the Saddle Lake Agency, integration would be acceptable it if were slowed down, appraised yearly, and if it safeguarded the rights of Catholic students to attend a Catholic high school. The Oblates supported the building of a central high school for Indian students, but believed that the school should not be established for five years in order to give local high schools the opportunity to develop.

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[204] St. Paul Journal, 12 November 1959.

B. THE POSITION OF THE CHURCH

With the change in the philosophy of the government, the church was obliged to examine its future role in Indian education. This section discusses the response of the church to the department and the religious activities they implemented in the school. When the principals went on their annual retreat in 1959, the Blue Quills principal noted the differences between church and state positions. For example, he said the department had established that on all school farms cattle and machinery acquired before January 1958 were to be the church's property. Why then, the principal asked, did the department insist on approving the farm books if not to try to control any surplus.[205] The principals also stated it was regretable that their representatives consented to have the church pay for worship material, since it was a matter of principle that the state support the church in such matters of native education.

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[205] Archives Deschatelets, Oblate-Indian Commission, Blue Quills, Box 15, file 6, 19 June 1959.

"The Pioneering Work of the Church is Over"

S. J. Bailey's study for the Welfare and Training Division of the Indian Affairs Branch concluded that "The pioneering work has been done by the church--now that this phase is past, the Government should take over its rightful responsibilities."[206] In the report residential schools were criticized for their emphasis on discipline at the expense of providing the children with personal attention and affection. The virtues of institutional life, according to a residential school principal, should not be upheld for children who had a home. The vocational training given to the girls in the kitchen and laundry rooms and to the boys in the farming operation was such that it could rarely be applied to life outside the residential school.

Sometimes residential schools were said to be orphanages, because as orphanages they had a legitimate function. The Welfare and Training Division Study, however, pointed out that for only a very few Indian children were institutions necessary. The department should attempt to find suitable foster homes, the study said, and end the practice where "the line of least resistance is immediately followed and the child is 'sentenced' to the residential school."[207]

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[206] S. J. Bailey, "A Study of the Welfare and Training Division of the Indian Affairs Branch," 1947, Treaties and Historical Research Centre, Ottawa.

On the topics of school finances and teacher qualifications, the Bailey study reported that the average residential school principal's yearly salary was $1,388 while the average teacher's salary was $399. (At Blue Quills in 1944, three years earlier the principal's salary was $1,800 and the average teacher's salary was $180.) Where the grant paid by the government to the church was $170 per pupil in 1945, the yearly cost per student to Blue Quills was $193.04. Based on their average attendance, this meant that the church was obliged to make up the difference of $3,096.58, slightly less than 12 per cent of the total yearly operation cost.

Of the various religious denominations involved in Indian education, the study said the Roman Catholics had the largest proportion of unqualified teachers, 55 per cent of their teaching staff, and the lowest number of teachers holding a first class certificate. (Among the four Blue Quills teachers in 1944, three had no teaching qualifications and one had second class standing.)

Residential school spending on food was also reviewed by this study. Over all its schools, the Catholic church was said to spend $55.15 per pupil on food, which was considerably more than the amount calculated of $26.38 for

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[207] Ibid., p. 21.

Blue Quills.[208] One student complained of the food:

> Breakfast was porridge with brown sugar mixed in it. And if we were very lucky they gave us some skim milk to mix in it. And a slice of bread with some beef fat or lard. For dinner we had boiled or roasted meat with a potato and a slice of bread, no grease then, and water. And on Tuesday and Thursday we used to have desert, either dried prunes, apples or figs. Instead of old-lady grease we'd have a little slab of peanut butter. Some boys had their own skates and would lend them for someone's share of peanut butter. And for supper we'd have a baked potato and some left-over meat from dinner and a slice of bread. In the summer time we'd have raw carrot or turnip, but any of the fruit we canned we never saw that. The staff were living like kings.

The government embarked on a nutritional survey of residential schools, and in May 1947 a dietician made a visit to Blue Quills. That summer two nuns working as cooks at the school were sent for a course in institutional food preparation sponsored by the federal government.

In their clothing Blue Quills students fared better, having $18.47 spent on each of them annually compared to the average for all Catholic schools of $17.58.[209]

The vocational training program at residential schools was criticized for its emphasis on labour.

The Bailey report recommended that the segregation of

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[208] The money spent which was the total average food value per pupil was calculated by adding the average food cost and the food grown and consumed. For the Catholic Church, these numbers were $47.75 and $9.40 respectively. Of the denominations involved in Indian education, the total average food value per pupil was $103.20 for the Presbyterians, $85.39 for the Anglicans, $55.15 for the Catholic Church, and $68.17 for the United Church (from Bailey, p. 10).

[209] The average cost of clothing per pupil in 1945 was $9.99 for the Anglicans, $15.91 for the Presbyterians, $16.32 for the United Church, and $17.58 for the Catholic Church (from Bailey, p. 11).

Indian from other Canadian children be stopped, and that integration become the goal for effective Indian education. It concluded that "although the various churches are to be highly commended for the pioneering job they did, the time has arrived when they should be relieved of this duty of educating the Indian children."[210] Under such criticism from the department, the church itself began to evaluate its work in Indian residential schools.

Oblate School Report, 1949

During the winter of 1949 an Oblate priest, Father J. O. Fournier, reported to his superiors concerning Indian missions and residential schools in the St. Paul Diocese. His discussions of Blue Quills includes a report on the academic and religious program, the shortcomings of the school, and suggestions for its improvement. A discussion of these matters, supplemented by former students' anecdotes, provides a picture of the school during this period. The report[211] described the academic program as the same as other schools in the province which had the half day system. Father Fournier said this system was discouraging for the boys because they had neither workshop nor instructor but that it was excellent for the girls because there was sufficient housework for them. The academic program was described by former students as:

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[210] Bailey, p. 27.

[211] Archives Deschatelets L2031 A33R 2, December 1949.

> In social studies we would study about dukes and duchesses. But that was so far removed from what my life was. What did I care about that baloney? So I filled my notebooks with pictures and doodles of my ideas of what history was about.
>
> Most of the big boys had their turn at working in the barn, working with animals, because there was a little bit of that at our homes. I think they kind of stressed it although no one was knowledgeable in that field. No one could tell really what is the best for cattle, how to care for them, things like that to be more or less scientific. No one taught us anything in that regard.

Regarding the religious program the report stated that the children went to confession Wednesday evening at least once a month. Attending mass was not obligatory except for the first Friday of the month. Students not attending mass were made to remain in their rooms. The rosary was recited each evening after supper, and for the girls washing dishes one student recited while the others continued working.

A former student said, "I think the idea about being a priest was tossed around, but as much praying as we did I never saw anyone become a priest or even a religious man in the Roman Catholic faith." Children who were serious about the religious program were given medals to wear on their chest, and often accepted the admonitions to not marry outside the Catholic church. The Sisters' logbook reported an incident in 1949 where one of their former students came to hide at the school because her parents wanted her to marry a Protestant. The Sisters were pleased with her decision, and kept her there until her parents changed their minds.[212]

The Oblate report mentioned the advantages perceived by parents to be derived from the school, advantages such as protecting their older girls from early motherhood and permitting them to work or travel elsewhere without being hampered by their children. Students, however, saw the situation differently from their parents, as one man explained:

> I don't think my experiences were all that beneficial. Now that I look back on it I thank the Creator for having given me a strong enough will to endure the things I went through. I give a lot of credit to my mother for pushing me to stay in school. She didn't have any schooling herself and I lost my father early in life.

A major difficulty in the school was personnel. Father Fournier stated that the principal's schedule did not allow the time for effective administration of the financial aspects of the institution, and that a treasurer was needed. Father Etienne Bernet-Rollande had replaced Father Jules Bidault as principal in August of 1947. Following Father Balter's death in 1948, the children's religious instruction was added to the responsibilities of the principal.

Another aspect of personnel problems was the continuity of employment of nuns. During a two-year period, the report stated, all the 13 Grey Nuns on staff had left and been replaced. The exceptions were two Sisters. "C'est vrai que l'école est *jeune*, mais on devrait *développer* des traditions, de l'esprit de suite et de continuité."[213] Father Fournier also stressed the importance of the priests and nuns learning the children's native languages, Cree and Chipewyan. Student experiences with staff unable to speak their native language often left bitter fellings, as indicated by a former student:

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[212] Grey Nun Archives, Chroniques de Blue Quills, 28 July 1949.

> I remember one time these little boys were teasing me and I really got mad and hit them and made them cry. So I got in trouble for that. And I tried to explain but I couldn't speak English, so I got a punishment for it. I'll never forget that year. I grew up hating grade one and my grade one teacher just because of that.

Other shortcomings cited in the report were with the government, which was considered not sufficiently interested in a proper moral, religious and social education for the Indian children. It was also accused of rigidity in the program. Father Fournier wrote, "Il y a de l'institutionalisme qui paralyse le développement de la personnalité et de l'initiative de l'enfant,"[214] and claimed that the half day system wasted the students' time.

Supervising the school boys was also a problem the report stated. This was especially true at night when there was no school supervision whatsoever. The school had hired a few Indian men to work as boys' supervisors, but they returned to their own homes after the boys were sleeping. While the big and little boys were separated, a nun could guard the little boys' dormitory but the big boys were left without supervision.

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[213] Archives Deschatelets, L2031 A33R 2, November 1949.
[214] Ibid.

The report also mentioned the problems faced by Indian parents, who having given up their authority over their children, were not respected by them when the child returned home for vacation. Upon leaving school and returning to the reserve, the report said, the children would not even pray with their parents. The residential school, Father Fournier concluded, had not sufficiently prepared the child for the return to the reserve. Most students would have concurred with this, as one man said:

> I think in a sense they tried to give us some insight into the future. But in terms of dealing with inter-personal problems. for example dealing with stress or pressures, or alcoholism, or any social problems there was totally no preparation. So therefore you were totally green if you stepped out from the reserve. Certainly many have succumbed and went under because they're unable to cope. Generally one was not prepared to face life.

Another student said, "Going to Blue Quills was like going into a room and not being let out."

The recommendations made by Father Fournier are related to the shortcomings in the school program. For example, he suggested employment of another priest to act as treasurer, and finding a solution to the problem of supervising the boys. He outlined a system for encouraging the boys to assist at mass which was based on ideas of priests in Manitoba, and he suggested periodic staff meetings where priests and nuns "étudient les meilleures méthodes pédagogiques et mettent de l'unité et des directives dans l'éducation à donner aux enfants."[215]

The church program "Catholic Action," a program for lay involvement in the church, was to be established gradually at the school the report said, and an effort was to be made in completing the addition to the building which had been started eight years earlier in order to have a boys' workshop. Discussions were already under way between government and church authorities about completing the unfinished addition to the school. However, there were plans to build a day school on the Cold Lake Reserve, and the department was uncertain whether any more money should be spent on new construction at Blue Quills.~~[216]~~

One of the primary concerns of the report was of fostering a more favorable atmosphere for the girls and more activities for the boys. Father Fournier was not certain if this meant raising the moral standards of the school, but he outlined the failure of two girls who had shown promise; "une autre, après de bonnes études a mener une vie scandaleuse."[217] This concern about student morality and behavior is especially evident in the following discussion.

Religious Program of the School

One of the attempts the church made to encourage student morality through religious participation was student organizations such as the Missionary Association of Mary Immaculate (M.A.M.I.). The purpose of M.A.M.I. was to encourage students to become involved in the mission work of the Catholic church. There were basic requirements for members: to say three Hail Mary's daily, to give a special offering every year, and to promise to help the local missionaries. If a member did more than these basic requirements, then (s)he could become a Second Degree member.

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[215] Ibid.
[216] Public Archives of Canada, R. G. 10, vol. 6346, file 751-5, part 7, 18 November 1949.
[217] Ibid.

When M.A.M.I. was established in Blue Quills in 1952, the first thing the student members did was ban love comics and murder stories. The students decided that honesty would be their aim for the year, and so put posters around the building emphasizing this goal.

In addition to organizing social evenings and afternoon recreation for their members, the children also participated in mission work. Two of the M.A.M.I. boys spent a week with the missionary at Saddle Lake--cooking, splitting wood, and assisting at mass. The girls served in other ways:

> According to my understanding, the Eskimoes are very hard to convert. So, through the M.A.M.I., we shall pray for those missionaries who bring the light to the souls of these poor people.[218]

Girls were more active in M.A.M.I. than the boys. One year, in 1957, the group held "Amateur Hour" shows to which their parents paid admission. From these funds they purchased materials to make bazaar items, and at a second Amateur Hour sold these items to their parents. The money their parents contributed paid for furnishings which were then given to the churches at Saddle Lake and Long Lake.[219]

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[218] Grey Nun Archives, Moccasin Telegram, March-April 1952.

A former member of M.A.M.I. said:

> There was one, M.A.M.I. I don't know what it was for though. God, I was president of one too. We were the elite of Blue Quills since not everyone could go. If your marks were high enough, and if you were a good girl, then you became a member of one of those groups.

Another way in which the students were involved in the religious program of the school was their participation in the celebration of religious holidays. For example, in 1952 there were special celebrations for the following:

-March, the month honouring St. Joseph, the school's patron saint; during this month a special service was held each Wednesday
-19 March, Feast Day of St. Joseph
-25 March, Feast of the Annunciation
-6 April, Palm Sunday
-10 April, First Communion
-11 April, baptism of new students
-13 April, Passover Feast and Easter
-30 April, St. Joseph's birthday
-1 May, mass starting month of Virgin Mary
-12 June, Corpus Cristi Feast
-15 June, Corpus Cristi procession
-24 June, holiday honouring St. Jean Baptist
-17 August, celebration for Solemnity of the Assumption
-9 September, special celebration honouring visiting church dignitaries
-14 September, Feast of the Holy Cross
-15 September, Feast of Notre Dame des Sept Douleurs
-3 October, Feast of Christ the King
-26 October, Feast of Christ the King
-24 November, Feast for Mother Superior
-8 December, Feast of the Immaculate
-25 December, Christmas
-26 December, Feast of St. Etienne, the principal's patron saint

A special holiday was held when the founder of the Grey Nuns, Mother Marguerite d'Youville, was beatified by Pope John XXIII in 1959. Annual retreats were held for the students, a time when special prayers and sermons continued for a three day period. These special celebrations were frequently remembered as other than religious events, as indicated by a former student:

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[219] Ibid., January-March 1957.

> Once during a Corpus Cristi parade a group of girls decided to sneak into the garden and get some crabapples. They were still green so we got a hell of a stomach ache. Everyone was inside decorating the nuns' recreation room. Usually we had an outside altar, but this year it was inside. All of a sudden we were called in and we thought we'd been caught. But we weren't--we had to be the angels in the procession. So me and Linda became the two main angels, and the others were little angels throwing flowers as the priest came. Linda got the boys' side and she was just in torture. Because we were angels we weren't wearing shoes, just white stockings, and the boys were tickling her. And she couldn't move but that wasn't bad enough. When the incense started to come she just about fell over. Even I was gagging, because when you're that close you're just gagging on that stuff. Here's Linda, these guys are tickling her toes and this incense is in front of her nose. She said she would have rather had a licking for stealing those crabapples.

Blue Quills as the Cree University

In the summer of 1950 Father Jean Lessard, an Oblate priest who had been teaching at the University of Ottawa, came to teach "Indian ethnology" to other missionaries and to develop the "Cree University." In September four other Oblates--Louis Philippe Roy, Rolland Simon Gagnon, Henri Paul Lyonnais and Henri Morin, came to study Cree. Two of them, Fathers Lyonnais and Gagnon, would later become principals of the school. The priests learned Cree, taught the children's catechism, and also studied "missionology" with Father Lessard. When the Bishop of St. Paul visited the school that year, he officially opened the Cree University.[220]

In addition to teaching new missionaries, Father Lessard gave public lectures in St. Paul on Indian folklore and history, usually wearing the ceremonial dress of a Blackfoot Chief. The children recorded hymns for a Cree radio program broadcast weekly by an Edmonton radio station, and for their efforts Father Lessard visited their classroom. A grade 7 student wrote in the school newspaper:

> The door opened and there stood Father Lessard, dressed in the Indian costume given to him by the Blackfoot Indians, with whom he used to be. Everybody cheered. Some of the children climbed on the benches and tables to see him better. First he walked around and showed everybody the costume from near. Then he told us it had been made by the children at Crowfoot Indian School. He explained the headdress, the gloves, the blanket and the other parts of the costume. Finally he showed us a buffalo-hair lariat which the Indians used in the olden days to catch wild horses. We are very grateful to Father Lessard for showing us something that most of us had never seen before.[221]

One advantage in having more priests at the school studying Cree was that additional activities could be planned for the students. Under the organization of Father Lyonnais, some musical instruments were purchased by the department to form a brass band. A student reported, "Music lessons have already started for the boys and just now there is a lot of noise in the school." The priests also organized a choir and army cadets.

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[220] Provincial Archives of Alberta, Oblate Accession 71.220, box 7, tome II, 30 October 1950.
[221] Grey Nun Archives, Moccasin Telegram, September-October 1950.

Father Lessard left Blue Quills in June of 1951 to open classes in Blackfoot at Cardston, Alberta, and the four priests who had studied with him were assigned to other missions; Father Lyonnais stayed on at the school in the position of assistant principal.

It is difficult to determine what impact the shortlived Cree University had on the pupils at Blue Quills. Although the priests studied Cree at the school, gave sermons, and taught catechism in Cree, use of native languages was sanctioned only in religious settings. This was true for both Cree and Chipewyan, although the latter never received the attention of the former. Unlike the period of Father Balter when reading and writing an Indian language was taught (1936-1942), the Cree University emphasized only the oral language. The pupils' use of Cree in the school was situational. English was the language of instruction, and use of a native language outside the classroom often depended on the individual staff member. One priest who spoke Cree and who felt the children should be allowed to also speak it, countered the nuns' objections with, "If you stop speaking French then I'll tell the children to stop speaking Cree." However, if use of the native language was not encouraged, it was never effectively suppressed. As one student said, "We found ways to speak it so no one forgot it" because of school.

The activities of the school, including religious programs for students and native language training for priests, were part of the internal organization of the school. In addition, church personnel continued to respond to and initiate plans relating to the federal government.

The Church and the Department

With the department increasing its control over Indian education, the church was evaluating its role in residential schools. This is evident in the church's concern about staffing. The first convention for Indian school teachers was held in November 1951 at the Blue Quills School. Fifty-five teachers from some twenty-one Catholic and Protestant Indian schools in Alberta and Saskatchewan attended. The convention program included lesson demonstrations, papers presented and discussed, and guest speakers included Father Lessard, founder of the Cree University, as featured speaker. The St. Paul newspaper reported:

> It is felt by the educators that the Indian deserves more and a sincere attempt by those present is being made to improve his education. The Dominion Government in promoting these conventions is taking a new stand in the matter.[222]

In his letter to parents, the Blue Quills principal, Father Bernet-Rollande spoke of this convention as indicating the future for Indian education.

Indicative of things to come was the rate at which students were returning to Blue Quills School. By the end of the first week of September 1951, 150 students were at the school and admissions were closed when 185 were in residence. The principal said that when the new addition to the school was completed the enrolment could reach 200.[223] This increase in enrolment was viewed negatively by the Grey Nun Provincial Superior. She wrote the Mother House saying that the order would be unable to find the four additional child care workers required by the increased number of pupils.[224]

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[222] St. Paul Journal, 9 November 1951.

The internal correspondence between the Oblate Order and the Grey Nuns indicates that they both were increasingly concerned about the church's ability to staff effectively Indian residential schools. The principal wrote the Grey Nun Provincial Superior about the difficulty of recruiting suitable lay personnel,[225] and asked for a commitment from her order to increase or at least maintain the number of nuns teaching at his school. This would be difficult to do, replied the Provincial Sister Superior, because the Sisters were attempting to improve their teaching qualifications at university, and because fewer women were entering the order there were fewer Sisters available. The church's concern can be seen when the principal wrote the Provincial Mother Superior:

> Non seulement ces enfants ont droit à une éducation, mais si nous considérons la formation religieuse ces enfants sont parfois complètement privés chez-eux, je suis convaincu que vous conviendrez avec moi qu'une

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[223] Grey Nun Archives, Moccasin Telegram, September-October 1951.
[224] Grey Nun Archives, Blue Quill Ecole Historique 59, 11 November 1951.
[225] Ibid., Historique 80, 2 January 1955.

> religieuse est l'institutrice idéale pour ces petits.[226]

Principal Father Bernet-Rollande was also worried about his own qualifications, especially when he was urged by the Father Provincial to obtain more solid qualifications as principal.[227]

As can be seen in Table III, the staff at Blue Quills was becoming secular in its composition. Between 1952 and 1968 the number of secular employees at the school had increased by 111 per cent, while those from religious orders had remained roughly the same in number. This meant that the growth in student population was met by hiring lay teachers but not that education was less religious because secular staff was still hired by the clergy. Among the non-teaching staff, nuns held the supervisory positions and were assisted by lay employees. An Indian woman who was employed as a seamstress at the school described the situation:

> But (in) one way Blue Quills School was strict. This had to be done just like this when they wanted sewing. Even to us, to people who were working they were strict. I don't know why. Like me, I am old enough but they were strict to me just like with the rest. But they'd send me with the children to go and supervise, but in the school they'd treat me just like a little girl. I'd have to get permission for where I'd want to go or what I could do.

To the students, differences between lay and religious employees often seemed minimal. One student said, "When I first went there we had the Grey Nuns as supervisors and later on we had lay supervisors. They were pretty much the

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[226] Ibid., Historique 95, 17 June 1957.
[227] Archives Deschatelets, Oblate-Indian Commission, Blue Quills, Box 15, file 6, 24 May 1957.

Table III

Religious and Secular Staff, 1952-1960

School Year	Oblates		Grey Nuns		Secular Staff		Total	
	Principal	Other	Teacher	Other	Teacher	Other	Religious	Secular
1952-1953	1	3	4	10	1	8	18	9
1953-1954	1	4	4	10	2	5	19	7
1954-1955	1	2	2	10	3	12	15	15
1955-1956	1	2	1	11	6	11	15	17
1956-1957	1	2	2	11	4	11	16	15
1957-1958	1	2	2	11	5	12	16	17
1958-1959	1	2	2	11	5	12	16	17
1959-1960	1	2	2	10	6	13	15	19

same."

A change in the principal's office was often more noticeable to the students because individual priests had different priorities and distinctive styles. Father Etienne Bernet-Rollande left Blue Quills in 1957 after serving ten years as principal. Under his administration a new wing was built on the school and the chapel underwent an all Indian style transformation. He was replaced by former principal Father Louis-Clement Latour who had been principal at Blue Quills from 1942 to 1947. Father Joseph Angin, who had been school principal from 1930 to 1936, returned to the school as bursar in 1952 where he remained until his death in 1960.

Workshop on Residential Education, 1957

In August 1957, a year after the department had released its survey outlining the new philosophy for Indian education the forty-four principals of Indian schools operated by the Oblates met in Ottawa for a workshop organized by the Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission of the Oblate Fathers in Canada. Blue Quills School was represented by Father Bernet-Rollande (who had left the school the same year).

Although the majority of Indian children were attending day schools (see Table I), residential schools were still playing a role in the field of Catholic Indian education. The objective of the workshop was to study the "basic problem of Indian acculturation common to all Indian and

Eskimo schools in Canada,"[228] and possibly to find its solution.

The main speaker at the workshop was Father Andre Renaud, who concluded his discussion of education for acculturation with the comment;

> The Canadian problem in Indian education is not primarily one of schooling Indian children the same way other Canadian children are schooled, but of changing the perservering Indian community into a Canadian community. When Indian children will not help but grow up to be culturally Canadian, then the average Canadian school will meet their educational needs.[229]

In this situation the Indian school, residential or otherwise, was seen to be essential by the church. The separation of Indian pupils fron non-Indians was not segregation per se, but rather according to Father Renaud "a long overdue recognition of the Indian community as a genuine and culturally distinct human community with an educational problem and process of its own."[230] For example, the church claimed public schools could not provide the various benefits of an Indian boarding high school, benefits such as religious training, teachers knowledgable in instruction for Indians, and training students for Indian leadership roles.

The workshop concluded that Catholic Indian schools, whether day schools or residential schools, had advantages over non-Indian schools. They were promoting Indian acculturation because: (1) pupils would never feel like a stranger or outsider; (2) teachers would be more familiar with Indian culture and mentality; (3) teachers would have more freedom in comparing Indian and non-Indian culture; (4) pride in Indian ethnicity would be more likely fostered; and (5) contacts with non-Indians could be provided through athletic, social, and religious functions.[231]

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[228] Oblate Fathers, Residential Education for Indian Acculturation (Ottawa: Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission, 1958), p. 3.
[229] Ibid., p. 36.
[230] Andre Renaud, Indian Education Today (Ottawa: Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission, 1958), p. 31.

It was recommended that Indian residential schools continue to receive government support because:

> Residential schools are acknowledged as being necessary yet for the education of orphans and children of nomadic or destitute parents. ...the residential school provides healthier living conditions, more appropriate supervision, better grouping by grade and more vocational training possibilities than the average day-school. It is also usually in better position to offer a wide range of social and recreational activities including those with non-Indians.[232]

C. THE STUDENTS OF BLUE QUILLS

Education Week

The establishing of Education Week in 1951 marked the beginning of the end of the isolation that had been characteristic of the school. It was to be held in May or June, and it was a time of increased student and community involvement in school activities.

The first Education Week opened 7 May 1951. The first day was reserved for visits to other classrooms by the students, where each grade had prepared a display or oral program. The next day was spent preparing exhibits and cleaning the school in preparation for open house for people from the town of St. Paul. The town newspaper noted, "It attracted many St. Paul residents who toured the school and saw many attractive displays, examples and proof of the versatility of the Indian and what he can accomplish."[233] It was the altar paintings in the chapel which were the special attraction. A fifteen year old Chipewyan student, who is now a renowned Alberta painter, Alex Janvier, had prepared an oil painting for the main altar of the newly refurnished sanctuary of the school chapel. The principal, Father Bernet-Rollande was said to have taken a personal interest in the student's art work, as did the department. The local paper carried a biography of the artist and a picture of the painting, saying "The boy shows a keen interest in anything new with a deep yearning for knowledge which no doubt accounts for his amazing achievements in the field of art."[234]

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[231] Oblate Fathers, p. 14.
[232] Ibid., p. 15.

In addition to opening the school to visitors from town, one day of Education Week was devoted to students visiting local industries in St. Paul. The students tour took them to the stockyards, newspaper office, post office, and bank, and at each they were given an introduction to the work performed there.

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[233] St. Paul _Journal_, 18 May 1951.
[234] St. Paul _Journal_, 11 May 1951.

The last day of Education Week was set aside for an open house for the children's parents, Chiefs and Councillors from their reserves, and missionaries. A banquet was prepared for them to be served at noon by the girls and a concert was given which included "ancestral war dances" and band selections. Invited speakers closed the open house program; a member of the R.C.M.P. detachment "renewed the pledge of friendship between Indian and the famed RCMP of pioneer days." The parents were told, "After you have seen and heard your children here today you, the parents, must try to be more worthy of them."[235] One student wrote in the school paper:

> Thus ended Education Week at Blue Quills just like the snapping of a finger. This may seem much of a favor to some people, but to me, a High School student, it loomed mighty important.[236]

The purpose of Education Week according to the souvenir pamphlet commemorating the week in 1953 (see Plate 3, page 171) was:

> ...to give a chance to the parents to realize the worth of their sacrifices in being separated from their children to see the progress these are doing in learning and in manners, and to encourage both teachers and pupils in the arduous task for forming a man.[237]

The open house this year allowed the visitors to tour the school's new addition, the Rollande Wing, which had begun in 1941 and opened in 1953. The extension was a two-storey structure containing a gymnasium, boys' workshop, and suite for employees. The local newspaper reported the new wing was "the fruitful results of his (Father Bernet-Rollande) efforts and jubilant he may well be, despite the heavy responsibility of an over strained budget."[238]

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[235] St. Paul Journal, 18 May 1951.
[236] Grey Nun Archives, Moccasin Telegram, May-June 1951.
[237] Ibid., 1953.

In 1956 Education Week celebrated the school's 25 anniversary. An editorial entitled "Dedicated Missionaries" noted the changes in Indian life that residential schools had presumably brought about:

> As we watched the gathering of Indians at the banquet, one could note the slow evolution taking place. Here was seen the wrinkled face of an old hunter, probably a grandfather with numerous descendants, still adhering to his old furtive ways; while next to him a middle aged Indian seemed more at ease; and further long the line another generation in the thirties, conversed quite casually among themselves and with other guests at the table. The young girls serving, although doing so with apparent shyness, were nevertheless at ease and waiting on their guests in very modern conventional manner adhering to the best Emily Post traditions.[239]

The theme of the Silver Jubilee Anniversary was "Education and Integration," and Bishop Philippe Lussier told the parents, "Integration does not mean annihilation or destruction of the Indian race, but full cooperation to blend two peoples to united Christianity to work for and serve God primarily for salvation."[240]

Celebrating the Silver Jubilee also gave notice to the Blue Quills Coat of Arms, which appears in Figure 4.

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[238] St. Paul Journal, 15 June 1953.
[239] St. Paul Journal, 31 May 1956.
[240] Ibid.

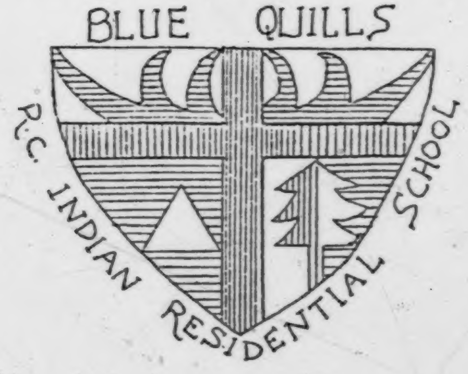

FIG. 4 COAT OF ARMS

The Coat of Arms had been created six years earlier (1950) and used on school stationery and uniforms. During the Silver Jubilee it was especially prominent. Pictures of the Coat of Arms were coloured by the students and displayed in every room of the school. The red-coloured cross meant that the school was Roman Catholic, and the blue feathers at the top stood for "Blue Quills." The teepee on the left side signified the prairie or Cree students, and the spruce tree on the right stood for the Chipewyan pupils from the forested area. The teepee was on a green background and the green spruce tree on white.

The Program and the Staff

The half day work study program ended in the early 1950's. In this program the girls had spent half a day in the kitchen and sewing rooms while the boys worked half day on the school farm. A nun who taught at Blue Quills explained her view on the change:

> In 1948 it was like that, half a day in school and half a day out. I started talking about it and said, "Look, you expect these children to be twice as smart as the whites. You're expecting them to learn whatever the whites are learning, and yet you're giving them only half time to do it. So I don't think it is fair, we're asking too much."

With the change to a full day of school program, the students' daily routine was changed from that described in Chapter II. Although school time was still structured, the students had more free time. One woman who attended the school said of the new routine:

> We'd get up 7:00 in the morning and we'd have until 7:30 to wash up and make up the bed and get down to the refectory. Then 7:30 was breakfast. We'd be out by quarter to 8:00 or 8:00 and then the bigger ones had chores. You had to sweep the dorms, mop the dorms, mop the Sisters' floor, the chapel, the refectory had to be swept up. And these were all jobs that were assigned to those who were able to handle this kind of job. At 9:00 we went to school. At 12:00 we came out and had an hour break for lunch, when we'd go back at 1:00 until about 4:00. Then we had recreation from about 4:00 until 5:00. At 6:00 it was supper. Then the older grades would go to the classroom to study and the younger ones would get ready for bed.

Because more time was being spent in the classroom, the students began to have experiences similar to those of integrated public school students. A filmstrip library, record player and picture files were acquired by 1954, and typing lessons were started the following year. The students also began to take part in Indian school competitions such as the Tuberculosis Poster Contest and Nutrition Poster Contest. An "Indian project" was started for the senior students in which they reviewed the Indian Act and studied different Indian tribes in Canada.

These changes were accompanied by the increase in the number of secular staff (see Table III), from which students gained experience with different teachers from those their classmates of earlier years knew. Indeed, the secular teachers often initiated new programs and activities. One student, in describing the wide range of teachers said:

> Sister was in grade one and I was terrified of her. The only thing I remember about grade 3 was that I was the only one who couldn't tell the time. And then in grade 4 I had the handsomest man for a teacher. He was nice, and of course I just adored him because he was so good looking and very young. There were girls already 14 or 15 in grade 4 and they would do anything to attract his attention. I wondered how they could make assholes out of themselves like that. Then in grade 5 we had a terrific woman. Except by the time I hit grade 5 already the note business was going on. Guys were sending notes to girls and girls were sending notes to boys. Then in grade 6 I had a very weird teacher. Every afternoon she'd tell us to put our books away and tell ghost stories. At first it was fun, but then the kids got carried away. If no one had anything to say, then she'd tell us a story, really weird things that had us shaking in our desk. Then when I got to grade 7 I had Sister. She had pets and I never liked anyone who had pets. She one day told one of the girls that I had very beautiful legs, and that turned me right off. I thought here I was trying to attract the boys, not a nun. We had fairly long dresses and after that I kept my legs hid. I felt very uncomfortable with her after that.

The students who attended integrated school in St. Paul usually described former Blue Quill teachers in favorable terms. One said, "When I went to high school I was better prepared than my white counterparts. So in that sense I enjoyed the teaching."

The attitude of the staff toward native language was changing. One man said, "You weren't punished (by them) if you spoke Cree, although they told you to speak English."

Some students came to school bilingual, as one woman explained:

> I knew as much English as I knew Chipewyan when I started. My mother was raised in the north and her father was white, so they spoke English at home. So at home when she was alone with us we spoke English and when my dad was home we spoke Chipewyan. We spoke only Chipewyan to the older people because it was impolite to talk English to an elder.

Students from the Enoch Reserve near Edmonton came to Blue Quills speaking only English, and learned Cree at the school. For children who arrived speaking only Cree, some teachers tried to accommodate them. One teacher said of her experience in the early 1950's:

> I had the beginners, perhaps 30 of them. At first I tried to teach them their numbers, and they didn't understand at all. So when I saw I couldn't get through to them that night I took a Cree dictionary and I learned the numbers up to five--peyak, neeso, nisto, newo, neyanan. And I came the next morning and said "peyak", and right away they brightened up and understood what I meant. After that it was easy for me to teach. Each evening I would learn something in Cree, and come the next day and then they'd have to learn it in English. I would put a lot of pictures on cards. They would tell me what it was in Cree, and I would tell them in English. We understood each other this way, and they learned very, very quickly.

Native language use was also facilitated by teaching catechism in Cree and by special programs such as the Cree University. Whereas the use of Cree or Chipewyan in religious activities had been sanctioned, some teachers were now trying to incorporate it into their classroom.

Students resented the difference between the teachings of catechism class and their treatment by staff. One recalled the Sisters while walking down the hall saying their rosary, gave a misbehaving student a slap, and continued with their prayers. Another student was sent out of catechism class for smiling at a boy. She was sent to the library next to the classroom and could hear the nun say, "She is going to be a Mary Magdalene that girl, and we'll have to pray for her because she's going to be a sinner." The class then said three Hail Mary's for the girl.

Part of the religious life of the school included baptism for those students who had not been baptized Catholic, confirmation classes, and first communion celebrations. For their first communion the boys were made new suits and the girls wore white dresses and veils. A special dinner often followed the church service.

Confession was a difficult time for many of the students, as indicated by the following statements:

> For confession they'd have these little black books in the pews that would have a list of sins. It was a prayer book and in one section it had prayers for penance, and in another it had all the different kinds of sins you could be guilty of. And it got to the point where you'd look at it, and say, "Last week I picked that sin, this week I'll pick this one."
>
> I felt very guilty about the sins I committed, and very guilty about the sins I'd committed that I'd forgotten. I felt very bad because I was always in a state of sin and I was afraid to die because I'd go straight to hell. The confessional to me was a traumatic thing.

Entering a religious order as a vocation was something that some students considered for a time. Occasionally a priest would talk to the boys about entering a seminary and the nuns would talk to the girls about life in a convent. Two students entered a convent of the Dominican Sisters during 1954 and 1955 to become nuns. When they expressed an interest in becoming nuns the senior teacher, in consultation with the principal, recommended they enter an order other than that of the Grey Nuns. As one nun said, "I never encouraged them much because Indians aren't constant." One student recalls the children crying when their two classmates left for the convent. They didn't want them to become nuns because "nuns were mean and these girls weren't that kind of people."

The church's goal, according to many students, was entry to a religious order. An often-heard comment is

> They had only one goal in mind, and that was religion. All the other subjects weren't that important. It didn't matter what subject you were talking about during the day, religion was always a part of it. These were done in very subtle ways, and as a youngster you don't realize the impact it has on you. My impression was that it was to convert us to the priesthood or to become nuns.

In spite of, or perhaps because of, religious emphasis of the school, most former students had limited involvement in the Catholic church after leaving school. One man said,

> So much of the religion was drilled in that hardly anyone from my era was practised it in a meaningful way, the R. C. faith. And even today I see some that probably aren't using any kind of religion. Our religion was more or less cast aside, and there was no way to practise it. They said it was a pagan religion and therefore should not be followed.

Religious activities were part of the church's efforts to provide a spiritual foundation for the students to enable their successful conversion and assimilation. They were also a means of persuading the students to accept the church's essential role in their schooling and in their future.

Life in the Residence

One of the ways the church entered the students' lives is found in the structure of life in the residence. The residence and school was a total institution where the student world was controlled by the staff. For the students everything from their own toothbrush to associations with other students was controlled by school or supervisory personnel.

An example of this structure is the numbering system. All students were assigned a number at the beginning of each school year. There was a separate numbering system for boys and for girls. One's number was based on how tall each child was. One student recalled,

> When I was 12 and went there I was number 7, cause I was always tall. Grade and age had nothing to do with your number. When you got bigger you had more privileges, like you got to supervise a bunch of little kids, and in return for what you did maybe on a Sunday you would get to go out with a group. You'd get better food, like cake and candy, when you'd work for the Sisters. You'd earn responsibilities.

As high school students the pupils could have their own soap and toothpaste. The junior students would have to share soap and to line up for toothpaste dispensed by a nun. Everyone had their own towel, which was identified by the student's number written on it. The pervasiveness of this number was emphasized by a student who said:

> Every utensil was marked with your number--your cup, your tin plate; the number was sewn on your underwear, and slip, and dresses, and maybe your shoes. ...We'd be called by our number sometimes too. Like if they wanted your attention, sort of like the army. You used to be tagged with that number all year.

There was little private property allowed in the residential school. As one man said, "The only thing I had at school that was just mine was a bag of marbles." Students would occasionally receive spending money from their parents or from doing extra jobs around the school. This money was kept in the school canteen, and an account kept of purchases made. "A dollar would last you from September until Christmas. The only thing they had at their little store was jawbreakers, suckers, and bars for a nickle. And they'd only allow you to spend so much at once, so your money lasted," said a former student.

Everything was subject to scrutiny by the school staff. The boys had lockers which were without locks; the girls carried their comb and hankie in their slip pocket, and these pockets had to be emptied on staff request. The student's mail, coming or going, was read by the principal. When a student asked why this was done, he was told it was read "Not for mere curiosity, but to check the content, and in so doing, avoid trouble that may arise from certain letters to certain persons...just as a vigilant father should check his children's relations."[241]

Boys and girls were segregated for most purposes. In the classroom they would sit on different sides of the room. In the playground and on the skating rink they were kept apart. A student recalled,

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[241] Grey Nun Archives, Moccasin Telegram, October-December 1955.

> The boys were in a separate world. They were so close and yet so far away. To give you an example of how much contact we had with our brother, when I was in high school and he was in high school we were in the same grade. The nuns wouldn't press their pants, so I would press his pants and two other boys' too. Anyway the nun accused me of fooling around with my brother and these other boys. And this was just because I was pressing their pants. Sex was sin.

Another said,

> I'm a horseman and I got to look at it this way. You separate the stud from the mare, and every once in a while you look over the fence and the stud gets pretty excited. To look at it seriously, I think they done more harm in that area, and again it's based on fear. You looked at any girl in the dining room and you'd get a licking. In the class in the first two years I was there the boys sat on one side and the girls sat on the other. Later on it got to be mixed. I remember how the reaction was. The girls would pull your ears or pull your hair or else the boys would do the same thing. But after awhile that novelty started to wear off and we started to mix more freely with the opposite sex.

Students were segregated because of the church's concern about morals. One man said, "Thinking back the nuns and priests were the most one-track minded people you could think of. All they had on their mind was sex. We were never taught about sex. It was always very remote, but always implied." Adolescence and physical maturation were handled in a secretive way. A woman recalled:

> When you got your period they'd take you aside. We had this little closet under the stairs. It was a dark room,and they'd take you there and tell you. But they wouldn't tell you why this thing happened, they just told you how to look after yourself, how to clean up. And that was that. They's say don't be after the boys or you'll be condemned. And this was about the only sex education we ever got. It was always from their point of view, it certainly wasn't ours.

Within the school and between grade levels the students would often organize into groups based on the Cree/Chipewyan differences. One woman recalled:

> We used to have gang fights (with the Chipewyan), about seven of us in each group. One night about 8:00 we were playing in the bush and we decided to burn Evangeline at the stake. And she had a fit, an epileptic fit. So that was the end of our burning someone at the stake. The Sisters knew we had these little gangs, but we never did anything serious. Not everyone was in a gang though, it was more of a gang where everyone told their little secrets, things like "I had an extra slice of bread today."

At the end of the school year or by the time students were in the higher grades, relations between groups of Cree and Chipewyan students were friendly; one student said, "It was something like a Frenchman and a Canadian. You got along quite well, but then again if you started meddling around too much on their side you had to watch it." In the residential school, the worlds of the staff and the students were separate. Students rarely confided in staff members, either lay people or those of the church. Even when staff members were kinsmen of students, relations in the school were very formal, and it was usually considered disadvantageous by students to have a family member on staff.

Students ran away less after the mid 1950's. When caught their punishment was denial of a movie or of watching television. Some high school students were allowed to go home for weekends, and all students went home for Christmas, Easter, and summer holidays.

Students, especially when they attended high school in St. Paul were more independent than their predecessors. The principal of Blue Quills was still the main person the student had to deal with on school related matters, and this situation was described by one student as follows:

> Everything went back to the priest, he was the big gun. You had to get permission from him if you wanted to do anything, or if you needed money. Even the Sisters took orders from him. He was controlling everything, pulling all the strings.

Some students from this period say in retrospect that "the discipline didn't hurt anybody," and "As long as you obeyed the rules it was fun being in that place. As long as you followed the rules and were a good Catholic they'd bend over backwards for you."

Clubs and Concerts

After the new wing of the building was completed, girls and boys basketball teams were formed. They competed both within the school and with other schools. Cadets became an important activity for the boys, and the Blue Quill Cadet Band formed in 1954 played at parades and drills at the school and in town. The St. Paul paper commented:

> Rev. Fr. Lyonnais of Blue Quills, along with the help of Tom Cardinal has done a job worth "special mention" in training the Indian inmates. Their band, the only one in the district, provided the martial music for both inspections and is in great demand at parades and celebrations.[242]

The girls formed a Wrenettes group in 1960, although it never had the importance of the Sea and Navy Cadets. Generally the boys participated in more clubs and sport activities than did the girls. The girls participated in the Drama Club, Ice Show, and occasional physical education demonstrations given on the reserve.

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[242] St. Paul Journal, 13 May 1954, emphasis added.

Movies were shown at the school every few weeks; as a teacher explained "They were good films that I would order from different companies, and I remember when I started giving films there they had been used to seeing only cowboy shows." The school had acquired a television set in 1956. Two years later there were four television sets in the school. A student wrote in the school paper:

> Father Principal has organized a program which permits us to see the T.V. by groups of about 15. We, the grades 7 and 8 have our turn on Fridays. We see the Plouffe Family and The Last of the Mohicans. On Saturday mornings the boys see the sports program. In the afternoon the girls enjoy watching Alice in Wonderland and Wild Bill Hickock.[243]

A major event of the year was the Christmas concert, which was preceded by months of practice, set building, and costume making. The concerts were usually dedicated to the principal, and they featured a three act play as well as recitations and "war dances." The children's parents and many people from town attended these performances, which were always reported in and photographed for the St. Paul newspaper.

Occasionally the children would hold an Amateur Hour for the staff and repeat it for their parents. A grade 4 pupil, Frank Large won a local Search-for-Talent Show with his recitation of "The Darkie's Advice" and went on to compete at the finals in Edmonton.[244] The concern with skin color, as evidenced by the topic of the recitation, was found in other areas of student life. Skin color sometimes became a criterion when chosing the cast for the Christmas concerts.

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[243] Grey Nun Archives, Moccasin Telegram, January 1958.

> I'll never forget one frightening situation when I was a little girl. I must have been about 6 or 7 years old. It was for our concert, and the boys about 16 or 17 years old were dressed as big Indian chiefs, and I was the little white girl who was taken away by these Indian chiefs. If you don't think I wasn't scared. I remember them saying, "I think she should go because she's a little bit whiter than the others."

In the early 1950's an Indian man who had a white arm visited the school. He said he had spilled some bleach on his arm, which prompted the boys to take up a collection to buy some bleach so they could all be white. Fortunately they couldn't find enough money.

Associating with the Outside Community

School events described in the school newspaper by the children were not unlike previous years: the boys built a skating rink and hunted rabbits on the grounds; the girls learned to knit and took part in Red Cross activities. After the mid 1950's the children were mentioned in the birthday list and honour roll pages, and saw movies every other week.

However, contact with the outside world was changing. In 1948, for the first time, the pupils were allowed to spend the Christmas holidays with their parents rather than remaining at the school. One student wrote in the newspaper,

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[244] St. Paul _Journal_, 18 April 1957.

"We could find nothing else to talk about but that. One day in school, the teacher asked a question to an absent minded pupil who naturally could not answer. 'Where were you?' she said. 'At home' the child replied."[245] By the mid-1950's the students were going home for Easter holidays too.

In addition to increased contact with their home community the pupils had more to do with the non-Indian community as well. In June 1949 some of the staff and students from the public school in Ashmont came to visit Blue Quills, followed by a reciprocal visit a few weeks later. A student recalled,

> I remember once we went to visit the high school. The kids continued to do their algebra and the teacher continued talking, as though we weren't there.

The boys' hockey team also played games with non-Indian schools, and a few girls would attend as supporters.

Blue Quills staff and students were becoming more involved with the world outside the school itself. When the United Church day school was built on the Saddle Lake Reserve in 1951, Blue Quills Principal Bernet-Rollande was present at the opening functions and the name plate for the school was painted by Blue Quills artist Alex Janvier. Some of the students travelled to Edmonton to see Princess Elizabeth's visit and the accompanying pagentry. One result of the increased contact with the world outside the school was that students began to question school based indoctrination.

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[245] Grey Nun Archives, Moccasin Telegram, December 1948-January 1949.

> The longer I went there the more I began to see that it was a lot of propaganda, even telling us the communists were taking over the States. And you'd listen to the radio and hear no such thing so you'd begin to reason a little bit more.

The community of St. Paul took more interest in the local Indian community. The town newspaper began to print articles such as "A Better Deal for Indians" urging Indian Affairs, which was now part of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, to improve the economic conditions of reserves. The record of church residential schools was compared to that of nearby public schools and judged a failure.[246]

The St. Paul newspaper gave increasing coverage to Blue Quills events such as Education Week and the Teachers' Convention, and wrote a history of the residential school. After printing an open invitation for townspeople to attend the school's Christmas concert production of "Snow White," an editorial "Good Encouragement to Blue Quills" was written urging the town to become acquainted with the school, "For those who had visited the school, seen some of the concerts and inspected the handicraft of the boys and girls, the achievements therein may be considered somewhat of a miracle."[247]

A St. Paul Journal editorial on "Indian Assimilation" reflected the non-Indian community's perception of the changes in Blue Quills School:

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[246] St. Paul Journal, 4 May 1951.
[247] Ibid., 21 December 1951.

> The assimilation of the Indian nations of Canada is a social problem slowly evolving in our country.
>
> The Department of Indian Affairs, through its residential schools special courses, has been encouraging the race to become self-supporting.
>
> We have close to St. Paul an exemplary Indian residential school which has shown remarkable talent in many fields--it produced a precocious young painter now attending school in Calgary; organized a band second to none in the district; and one of its younger members went all the way to win third place in the ACT Search for Talent Show. Some of the girls have found homes and proven themselves more adept with needle and thread than many a lady.
>
> All proof that our Indians have a keen mind capable of competing with the best.
>
> In spite of these achievements, Indian boys and girls find it extremely difficult to fit into our society. Once they graduate from school, a lack of encouragement from the general public forces them to revert to a natural nomadic existence and all the time and effort of our missionaries, the money spent by the government goes to waste.
>
> Our point leads to this: with the coming of the summer holidays there are a good number of young Indian girls, in grade 10 and 11 who have typing experience, have shown themselves intelligent in class, looking for employment.
>
> It might be a good business investment to encourage some of these girls or boys with a job, commensurate with their ability. It would give them the incentive, perhaps to carry on further, and eventually generations will grow up to assimilate in the economy of our country, contributing to it instead of consuming our tax dollars on subsidized reserves.[248]

The message of this editorial was that assimilation of Indians was desirable and employment was necessary if they were to become self-supporting. The residential school had an essential role in bringing this about. The non-Indian community too had a responsibility to provide encouragement and employment for young native people in order to prevent their "revert(ing) to a natural nomadic existence."

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[248] Ibid., 13 June 1957.

The students of Blue Quills occupied a subordinate position. The structure of the residential school generated conflict between the staff and the inmates. With the end of the half day work, half day study program the students' life was highly regimented. Life in the residence, where students were assigned numbers, dispossessed of private property, and segregated by sex alienated the students from the staff and from each other. While conflict was generated, it was also regulated by the increasing student involvement with the outside community. Education Week and the variety of clubs, sports and concerts are examples of this. The use of native languages in religious settings and in the elementary grade also contributed to the staff's efforts at regulating conflict with the students and with their home communities.

D. INDIAN PARENTS AND EDUCATION

Parental involvement in the school was less during the period after World War II than it had been in years. This section discusses the parents' perception of the school and developments on the reserve. Parents differed in their views of the residential school. Some opposed the school, but were powerless to change it. Others supported the institution, as one woman said:

> You know what the nuns used to tell us? "If you cry I'll tell your mom." I mean that was more frightening than the nuns. Your own mother was not going to take your part.

With new options such as reserve day schools and public schools, parents could remove their children from the residential school if they disapproved of it. Parents did just this when a child was beaten by the boys' supervisor. Other than this there was little parental control of the school situation.

Parental lack of power was enforced by the little contact they had with the school staff. A nun who was a cook at the school said, "I would never have much to do with parents of the children because they're real beggars. If they needed something they could go see the Father, but not at the kitchen door." A teaching nun at the school explained her reluctance to know the parents as being beneficial in teaching their children:

> I didn't want to become acquainted with the parents because I was freer then to speak to the children. You see, if I had been acquainted with some parents, with some woman who was getting beaten by her husband, I couldn't have talked about it in the classroom. But since I didn't know anybody, I could talk about these things in the classroom and I could tell the children that a man who beats his wife doesn't deserve to live and should be put behind bars.

Saddle Lake Reserve

If parents had little influence on the school, they did not have significantly more on their reserve. The picture of the reserve during the period after the Second World War to 1960 is not an encouraging one. Although a nursing station was built in 1950, the health and living conditions on the reserve were poor. Most of the people lived in log cabins that had neither running water nor electricity, water supplies were often contaminated, and many suffered from illnesses such as tuberculosis. Few had an adequate diet, and unemployment was high.

A community assessment study sponsored by the provincial government in the mid 1960's said that on the reserve "the agricultural potential is the single greatest untapped resource."[249] Many reserve members had been self supporting through farming until the late 1940's. During the 1953 to 1954 period many of the previously self sufficient farmers turned to social assistance, and by 1965 over ninety per cent of the reserve was receiving some social assistance.[250]

The Indian Affairs Branch introduced agricultural courses on the reserves in 1956, as well as adult leadership and civic affairs courses. The department, however, was also centralizing its administration, and in 1952 the Indian agent moved his office to St. Paul, leaving the Saddle Lake Indian Affairs Branch office to be used only for issuing welfare forms.[251]

The Roman Catholic Saddle Lake Mission opened the Sacred Heart Church on the reserve in 1959. A Protestant school was opened on the reserve in 1951. The school operated for only four years because no teacher was available. Most Protestant students attended the residential school in Edmonton. A Catholic day school was also opened on the reserve in the early 1950's, although it drew few children from the reserve's majority Catholic population. The department's integration program caused many reserve children to be transported to day schools off the reserve. The Catholic priest on the reserve wrote his superior that reserve children attending day school on the reserve were transported by wagon and horses, while those going to an off reserve day school rode in heated buses. He commented, "We wonder if it is the policy of the Department to provide as poor transportation as possible for Day School pupils, to encourage the parents to send their children outside the Reserve."[252]

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[249] Morton Newman, Appendix F, Indians of the Saddle Lake Reserve: Community Opportunity Assessment (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1967), p. 61.

[250] Ibid.

[251] Saddle Lake Cultural Education Committee, p. 68.

The reserve, then, had experienced little development. The standard of living on the reserve was not rising as it was for many other Canadians. For many in Saddle Lake their life was characterized by an inadequate diet, poor health, few recreational activities, alcoholism, unemployment, and a high drop-out rate among school children.

Catholic Indian League

One way Indian parents were to become involved with their children's education was through the Catholic Indian League. The League was founded in June 1954 by the bishops, missionaries, and Indian delegates attending the National

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[252] Archives Deschatelets, Oblate-Indian Commission, Saddle Lake, Box 1, file 17, 29 May 1960.

Indian Pilgrimage at Our Lady of the Cape.[253] The Secretariat of the Oblate Indian and Eskimo Commission carried out the preliminary organization of the League.

Members of the League were to be practising Catholic Indians over 18 years old. The aims of the organization were to protect the religious and social rights of the Indian population by uniting and coordinating the efforts of the local Catholic Action groups. Other goals of the League were to encourage the establishment of Catholic Action groups, to protect the right of Catholic education for Indian children, to promote economic and social development of Indian groups, and to develop leadership among the reserve population. The annual meetings of the League were under the direction of the bishop, and workshops were led by the missionaries. Indians were elected to each local committee which was made up of at least ten members, and each member serving a two year term.

Education was always a primary concern of the League. For example, at the first Provincial Congress held at Hobbema in August 1954, three resolutions were passed. One recommended more missionary visits to Indian homes. The other two concerned the matter of establishing Indian high schools in Alberta and teaching prayers to the school children in an Indian language.

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[253] The manuscript on which much of the discussion of the League is based is "Minutes and Proceedings, Catholic Indian League of Canada, Alberta Division 1954-1965," private manuscript of Father Roy, parish priest, Saddle Lake Reserve.

When in 1958 the Catholic Indian League met at Hobbema, the government policy of integration was the major topic. The League emphasized that the policy of integration was a threat to residential schools and parents provided several examples where the policy of integration had created problems for them or their children.

When the League had their regional meeting at Saddle Lake, it recommended a semi-boarding school be built on the Saddle Lake Reserve. At the meeting, only nine people out of 117 participating were in favor of bussing children to the public school in St. Paul. Most of those in attendance felt that a semi-residential boarding school, where children could go home for the weekends, was preferable to day schools because of poor home conditions on the reserve, long bus rides to public schools, and discrimination against Indian pupils by others in the non-Indian school. The tenor of the meeting was expressed by one participant who said, "We are with poor home conditions and far from being ready to integrate with the white population."[254]

To a League petition signed by 103 people in 1958 requesting a semi-boarding school be built on the Saddle Lake Reserve, the government responded that there was ample room for more pupils in the Indian day school on the reserve or at the St. Paul public school. Institutional cases were being provided for by the Blue Quills School they said. The changed department education philosophy is evident in the official's reply to the League:

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[254] Archives Deschatelets, Oblate-Indian Commission, Saddle Lake, Box 1, file 17, 4 September 1958.

> Poor home conditions are not sufficient grounds in themselves for placing children in boarding schools. There must also be evidence of parental neglect to remove the child from its home. There is evidence on other Reserves in Alberta to show that home conditions are not improved by relieving parents of the responsibility of rearing their children.[255]

Requests by Indians for more residential schools were common. In 1952 Indians from the Cold Lake Reserves met with the department and requested a residential school be built on their reserve because Blue Quills was too far away and it had begun to refuse admission to their children because of overcrowding. The Cold Lake community said given the number of school age children on their reserve (estimated to be 125 by 1958), the Cold Lake community said it was time for a new school. One spokesman said, "The school cannot be postponed until 2052, we need it now and the loss of the trap lines will change nothing in the necessity of a residential school as a satisfactory school."[256]

The Cold Lake Indian community said that a day school would be acceptable to them if family allowance payments were not tied to attendance, if food and clothing were supplied to the pupils, and if the school would keep the children in residence for short periods upon parental request. When the Indian agent replied that these conditions were unacceptable for a day school, the native community countered that a residential school was the only solution. At Saddle Lake, where day schools had existed for a few years, parents said that "the day school is not what we thought, and we do not want them anymore."[257]

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[255] Ibid., 29 October 1958.
[256] Archives Deschatelets, HR6615 C73R 23, 1 June 1952.

Integration continued to be a concern to the Catholic Indian League. At their 1959 meeting the minutes recorded:

> ...it was generally felt that the so-called integration policy, which consists in sending Indian students to non-Indian schools was premature and often resulted in aggravating the barrier between the Whites and Indians. On this point, at least, it was evident that the Indians of Alberta themselves are very much at odds with the oft-repeated and much publicized assertions of our Indian Senator (James Gladstone). In matters of education, he certainly is not spokesman for the majority of Indians.[258]

This meeting endorsed the decision of a previous meeting held on the Saddle Lake Reserve and recommended "that a combined Residential and Day School be built on the Saddle Lake Reserve" and "that the present school of Blue Quills be granted High School standing, so there would be no further obligation of attending classes at St. Paul."[259] The government replied that the first part of their resolution could not be considered by the Minister, and that the second part was not in keeping with the policy of the department to send Indian children to non-Indian schools only with parental consent. The situation remained unchanged. Similarly, the majority recommendations submitted by the 90 delegates attending the 1960 convention dealt with increased residential school accommodation and vocational school facilities, on which the department did not act.

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[257] Ibid.
[258] "Minutes and Proceedings, Catholic Indian League of Canada, Alberta Division 1954-1965," p. 15.
[259] Ibid., p. 21.

The Joint Committee on Indian Affairs, 1959-1961

A Joint Committee on Indian Affairs, similar to the one which sat between 1946 and 1948 on revising the Indian Act, sat between 1959 and 1961 in Ottawa. Its purpose was to review the provisions of the Indian Act of 1951.

The Indian presentations to this second committee were varied. Some bands thought the government should take over education completely. Others thought that religious denominations should have total control of schools which would be financed by the federal government.

The Catholic Indian League of Alberta said that although the principle of integration was a good one, its application in many cases had had unfortunate results. Their brief, presented in 1960, said:

> Integration must neither be forced nor hurried. It must move sowly, no faster than the changing outlook and aspirations of each individual. It must be desired by both Indians and non-Indians concerned.[260]

Other briefs, such as that presented by the Calumet Indian Club of Calgary, said "We feel that integrated schools are the only answer if our people are to show any progress."[261]

Roman Catholic briefs to the Joint Committee stated that Indian education should be financed by the federal government but administered by the churches. All church briefs agreed that integration should not be forced. For example, the Canadian Catholic Conference said that as a higher standard of education was reached, "natural integration" would automatically occur. The Oblate Fathers' Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission stated that Indian parents had the right to decide on integration and that integration when desired should begin on the parish level.[262]

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[260] Ibid., p. 34.

[261] John Malcolm Macleod, "Indian Education in Canada" (M.Ed. thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1964), p. 121.

Generally, submissions to the Joint Committee showed that Protestant Indians favored integrated education more strongly than did Catholic Indians. A study of this committee stated, "If the hesitancy on the part of Catholic Indians has a strong religious motivation, grounded in the thought that non-Indian schools would deprive them of daily religious instruction during school hours, then, for them, probably integration should begin on the parish level--by attending parochial schools."[263] The conclusions and recommendations of the Joint Committee were that more agreements with provincial school boards encouraging integration should be made, and that steps should be taken to ease this transition.

Indian parents had little authority in the school and less on their reserve. The church sought to incorporate the native community by establishing the Catholic Indian League. While such an organization was powerless and under the control of the church, it did serve as a training ground for many people. Indian parents were becoming more involved in educational issues, but it is the decade of the 1960's which witnessed increased participation and eventual protest against the church and the department. Chapter IV focuses on the changes which led to the replacement of the church in the Blue Quills School.

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[262] Ibid.
[263] Ibid., p. 127.

PLATE 1

Blue Quills Indian Residential School, 1931.
(Provincial Archives of Alberta photograph)

PLATE 2

Children in the classroom, June 1936.
(Grey Nun Archives photograph)

PLATE 3

Grade 3 class during Education Week, 1953.
(Grey Nun Archives photograph)

PLATE 4

Demonstration during the occupation of the school, 1970. (Alberta Native Communications Society photograph)

IV. THE CHURCH REPLACED

The decade of the 1960's was one of many changes in Indian communities. The government policy of school integration was coming under greater scrutiny by the native population. For many, general integration into the larger society was initially viewed as a positive policy since it held as its goal the full participation of Indians in the economic and social life of Canada. The initial favorable response to integration began to change when Indian children were integrated into the educational system and started attending off-reserve public schools. The Hawthorn report said, "This makes it difficult to distinguish between a policy of integration and a policy of assimilation, which allows the loss of the basic cultural values of the integrated ethnic group."[264] When Prime Minister Trudeau announced, "The Indians should become Canadians as have all other Canadians,"[265] many native people rejected the policy of integration.

This chapter examines the period from the early 1960's to 1971. The topics covered are student life in the school and other developments within the Indian community. The government plans for changing Blue Quills from a residential school to a hostel accommodating junior and senior high school students attending public schools are also outlined. The loosening of the bond between the church and the government in the area of Indian education is discussed.

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[264] Hawthorn, p. 41

[265] Harold Cardinal, The Unjust Society: The Tragedy of Canada's Indians(Edmonton: Hurtig, 1969), p. 28.

Events are then described which preceded the 1970 confrontation between the native community and the department, which resulted in a sit-in at the school and the eventual Indian take-over of the facility. Blue Quills became the first school in Canada to be controlled and administered by Indians. The role of the Blue Quills Native Education Council as an administrative vehicle for this "local control" is discussed.

After the school take-over, grades one to six were phased out and Blue Quills became a junior and senior high school for native students with optional boarding facilities. In 1975 the educational services of the school were expanded by Project Morning Star, an off-campus teacher training program offered by the University of Alberta, and by Athabasca University post-secondary education programs. Because of these important subsequent changes, developments at Blue Quills after the Blue Quills Native Education Council assumed responsibility for the school are not part of the present study.

A. DECREASING CHURCH INVOLVEMENT IN INDIAN SCHOOLING

The previous chapter discussed the changing relationship between church and state and each group's position on schooling native children. The church continued to advocate government financing of education with church administration, while the government favored phasing out church schools by integrating students into off-reserve schools and separate schools or by providing non-denominational day schools on reserves. The position of the church was illustrated by the Blue Quills principal who said in conversation with the author, "Integration is a part of education, but it should be done freely and not too quickly." This section is concerned with the church's reluctant changing role in Indian education.

The Principals' Involvement

When the Indian Residential School Principals' Association met in the fall of 1961, they found themselves in agreement on the major issues in the field of education. The principals agreed with the government that full citizenship rights and full participation of Indians in Canadian society was a desirable goal, but cautioned that integration should proceed slowly and wisely. They protested the negative publicity given residential schools and the minimizing of their achievements, claiming "In their considered opinion, the Indian Residential Schools still remain one of the better means for the Indian children to attain social and economic equality."[266]

In their statement to the press, the principals claimed the government was trying to transform the residential school into centres of welfare and correctional institutions. With increasing government control, the churches were seldom consulted. They felt they could contribute valuable insights to the Indian Affairs Branch if only the government department would honestly consult with them. Moreover, the principals revealed that "The public little knows that to entice parents to place their children in day or integrated schools, the doubtful and shortsighted method of granting relief is often times used to the detriment of the Indians themselves."[267] The government occasionally provided social assistance to families whose children remained home and attended school instead of boarding at a residential school.

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[266] St. Paul *Journal*, 30 November 1961.

From the church's perspective, the government was not fulfilling its agreement with them. For example, when Father Henri Paul Lyonnais replaced Louis-Clement Latour as principal of Blue Quills in the summer of 1962, one of his first confrontations with the department was over the hiring of teachers. At that time there was an agreement between the church and state that the government, in consultation with the school management, assigned the teaching staff to the school. However, when Father Lyonnais received a letter from the Regional Superintendent of Indian Agencies informing him that a teacher had been hired for the school, this was the first the principal had heard of the applicant. He informed the Oblate Associate Director of the situation, and received from him the reply, "We need all these examples to build up a case to throw at them (the Indian Affairs Branch) when there is an argument." [268]

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[267] Ibid.

The disagreement between church and state was often over matters less obvious than the above example. In an article on "The Dilemma in Indian Education," Father Mulvihill wrote, "The 'Isolation Ward' of the Indian reserve is an unsurmountable obstacle for integrated education and integrated living."[269] Just as a hospital isolated particular patients by placing them in a separate ward, the government had isolated Indians by creating reserves which were separate from the larger society. The government dilemma was:

> If the Indian people are kept on the reservations, there will be no integration or, at best, a painfully slow change consuming many generations. The other choice, to move the Indians off the reservations, would be compulsory Canadianization and no democratic government would sanction it.[270]

According to the church, the government should settle for pluralism, continue with the reserves and forget about "true" integration.

The residential school, according to the church, was in an ideal position to bridge the gap between the reserve and the larger non-Indian community. An Oblate Father asserted, "The leaders of our Reserves, the families that are stable and progressive, the ones in positions of authority or confidence, are almost all products of the residential school system."[271] The church felt that the residential school was as important a part of Indian education in the 1960's as it had been a hundred years before. Moreover, it was the special environment of the residential school--the long compulsory and supervised study periods, staff familiar with native people, and a religious atmosphere, which enhanced its effectiveness. The church believed in the principle of the residential school; it was concerned with its own ability to continue its administrative role in the face of opposition from the government, increased involvement from the native community, and decreasing support from the Grey Nuns.

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[268] Archives Deschatelets, Oblate-Indian Commission, Blue Quills, box 15, file 6, 20 August 1962
[269] "The Dilemma in Indian Education," Oblate News, vol. 5, no. 1, January 1963, emphasis in original; from Indian Association of Alberta, Treaties and Aboriginal Rights Research, 1.E.
[270] Ibid.

The Grey Nuns and the School

In August 1964 the Grey Nun Provincial Superior wrote her Oblate counterpart that because of a lack of personnel they would be forced to end their association with Blue Quills in June 1965.[272] The Oblate Provincial replied it would be impossible to run the school without the help of the Grey Nuns, and asked for time (not less than two to three years) to find

> "une Communauté de Religieuses qui serait prête à faire les sacrifices nécessaires pour nous assister dans une oeuvre aussi importante de la formation des plus pauvres et des plus déshérités de la terre."[273]

The priest also said that the Sisters' decision to leave

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[271] Alberta Provincial Museum and Archives, Oblate Accession 71.220, B-VIII-500, box 60, 12 August 1963.

[272] Grey Nun Archives, Blue Quills Ecole Historique, no. 110, 15 August 1964.

[273] Ibid., no. 115, 30 October 1964.

Blue Quills "indique bien que vous désirez par tous les moyens possibles vous retirer de la proximité des Oblats d'extraction francaise dont vous êtes sans doute fatiguée."[274] The Grey Nuns decided to leave their members at the school another year, until the end of June 1966. The Sisters did not leave until the summer of 1970 when the sit-in occured at the school.

Table IV indicates the number of nuns who were at the school from 1931 to 1969. During this time period, teaching Sisters stayed at Blue Quills three years on average, and Sisters employed in other areas two years ten and a half months. Until 1965 the nuns, apart from a short holiday and their retreat, stayed at the school year round. After this date no religious orders were at the school during summer vacation.[275]

The religious orders at the school arranged a "Vocation Day" for the students in 1962 and again two years later. This was a time when students could find out about the religious vocations and visit the nuns' quarters. These proved to be less effective in influencing students' views than the nuns had hoped, and when their order attempted to organize a reunion for former students in 1966, only fifteen individuals expressed interest. For the religious orders the school was home, and priests and nuns often said the school was a second home for the students. However, few students

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[274] Ibid.

[275] Grey Nun Archives, Blue Quills School Chroniques, vol. III, 4 July 1965.

Table IV

Grey Nun Participation at Blue Quills School, 1931-1969*

Years	Number of Sisters		
	Teacher	Other	Total
1931-1935	3	10	13
1936-1940	4	12	16
1941-1945	5	13	18
1946-1950	7	13	20
1951-1955	5	14	19
1956-1960	3	14	17
1961-1965	2	11	13
1966-1969	1	8	9

* The average stay for Grey Nun teachers at Blue Quills was three years; for other staff it was two years ten months.

felt this way about the school. A more common sentiment was, "I considered the school a prison, not my home."

Other School Staff

The students had few nuns as teachers; as indicated in Table IV, after 1964 only one Sister taught at the school. A nun was always the senior teacher and taught the highest grade(s), seven and/or eight. As senior teacher, she would usually be present when teachers were interviewed. On recruiting teachers, one nun said:

> I would interview the teachers with the superintendent, but sometimes we got caught with some unfortunate characters, especially people who didn't like the Indians. And that was really detrimental to the school. I would tell them we don't need a teacher who says they can't get a job elsewhere, and so they'll go to the Indians, because those children need more than others. They are deprived of many things, so we have to give them the best education possible.

Besides the number of lay teachers increasing at the school the turnover in teaching staff was high. One student recalled, "In grade six I had five teachers in the one year."

Teachers followed the Alberta school curriculum and like other Catholic schools religion was taught daily for half an hour. The school day started at 9:00 a.m. with religion class. There was morning and afternoon recess break of fifteen minutes, a lunch period of ninety minutes, and the day concluded at 4:00 p.m. A few of the lay teachers spent out-of-school time with the students; one student recalled:

> Mrs. Lavoie was my favorite teacher, because she used to take us to her farm if we were extra good. We'd have a nice holiday. She'd fix us a nice supper and it was really nice just sitting with her and watching t.v., things that you couldn't do in the school. We'd go play out in her yard. Other people who worked in the kitchen would take kids home with them, but just so they could work on their farm.

Frequently the boys' supervisors were Indian men from the Saddle Lake Reserve. The difference between a lay supervisor and a nun supervisor was often minimal from the students' perspective:

> They had some brain-washed Indians working there. These Indian guys, you know we looked up to them. I suppose for what was the cultural things that we didn't have, we looked up to them more like our parents than a nun because they were more of a father figure as an Indian person rather than a nun standing there in a big cloak. Well, when we found out he was dishing out the same kind of treatment as the nuns were, we lost all respect for him.

Frequently the girls' supervisors were often non-Indian women from the community. One woman who worked in the school kitchen and later as a girls' supervisor said:

> As a supervisor you had to be everything--a mother, a doctor, a nurse. You had to give them a licking, or not that, but when they had to be punished then you did it. And sometimes you had to send them for a strap. Nowadays you'd be charged with child abuse but in those days it was good for them. When I first started working there it was like a family, but then it changed and you had to have someone there when you gave them a licking, or they could say that you hit them too much.

Although the number of secular staff increased at the school during the 1960's, the priests and nuns continued to have a considerable influence over the students. The priest's role was especially significant because his priorities were reflected in the priorities in school activities. As one student said, "All the principals had pet ideas. When Father Latour came he made sure we were getting good food. He was a diabetic and used to say 'I like to see you kids eat because I can't eat it.' When Father Lyonnais came he was a sports-minded type, so the sports went up and the food went down."

The priest's influence extended to the secular staff and nuns as well as to the pupils. A former student observed, "The priests had a higher place than the nuns did, and the nuns knew it too. They did't dispute anything the priest said." The staff organization was reflected in their dining arrangements: maintenance people ate in the kitchen, children's supervisors, kitchen and clerical staff ate in one dining room, nuns ate in their own dining room, as did the priests.

Changes in school staff were reflected in the punishments experienced by the students. Discipline of the severity noted in early chapters became rare. On the rare occasion when a student ran away from the school they were not strapped or beaten upon their return. Physical punishment was restricted to a few circumstance, as described by one woman:

> Once I got a strap. It was on a Sunday after church and my mother had phoned me. I was really upset and I hung up on her and I was crying down the hall and Father Lyonnais says to me, "Come back here, I want to talk to you." And I said, "Oh go to hell." So I was called up to the dorm and Father Lyonnais was there with his strap. And I got it, but I wouldn't cry so he gave it to me harder and harder. I was really stubborn. I cried after he left.

An aspect of the disciplinary system was a demerit system. Children would loose points if their locker was untidy, or if their shoes weren't tied when roll call was taken. When ten negative points were accumulated, the student was forbidden to see the monthly movie.

> Or sometimes they'd take you to the movie but make you sit on the other way so you'd just hear what was going on. Somebody got the bright idea they were going to use a mirror, but they got their mirror confiscated. They'd make them wash the floors too. I think their cruelty was more psychological. Sometimes they'd call you down in front of everybody.

For a number of reasons church influence in Indian education was decreasing. With fewer people entering religious orders, the Oblates were unable to rely upon the Grey Nuns to staff the school. Too few of the Sisters had qualifications of teachers which were acceptable to the department. As support staff, the increasing age and decreasing numbers of nuns made it necessary to employ more secular staff. Changes in the Indian community, to be discussed later in this chapter, also contributed to the decrease of church influence. The authority and trust traditionally accorded to the church by native people was eroding, and the larger society was questioning church involvement in Indian schools. This was evident in the church's relations with the government.

B. GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT IN INDIAN SCHOOLING

The Control of School Lands

On the morning of 22 November 1963 a fire destroyed the barn at Blue Quills school.[276] With the loss of this major building, the farming operation at the school ended. For the students this meant no more farm labor, and after this date both the boys and girls did all their chores in the school building. For the department, this meant that some of the land on which the school was built could be disposed of in ways Indian Affairs considered advisable.

After the fire, the principal leased the unused farm land to a local farmer. Since this was department land and leased without the approval of the Minister, the Alberta Regional Director wrote the Saddle Lake Agency Superintendent, "The arrangements that are now in effect are, of course, irregular and we must take steps immediately to regularize them."[277] Upon investigation it was found that a lease had been made in April 1964 between the Oblate Fathers and a local farmer for a period of four years. Of the $2,000.00 revenue received for the first two years of the 620 acre lease, $1,100.00 had been spent on a new organ and the remainder on books and other school materials. The Agency Superintendent reported, "Father Lyonnais assured me that all funds were expended for the benefit of the school, and no funds are available for remittance to the Receiver General."[278]

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[276] Provincial Archives of Alberta, Oblate Accession 71.220, Tome II, box 7, 22 November 1963.

[277] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, School Buildings, Blue Quills, vol. 2, file 779/6-1-009, 15 June 1966.

The department advised the new principal, Father Simon Gagnon, to not spend any revenues from the lease and ordered an audit report of the revenue received from the land lease. The audit stated "The available evidence indicates that the funds were expended to pay for extra-curricular activities in excess of the allowable ceiling; and for items which would not be allowed under the Indian Residential School Financial Institutions."[279] The department renegotiated the lease and decided to not seek recovery of the share crop proceeds from the Oblates since the departmental regulations regarding the leasing of Crown lands were not sufficiently clear to hold the principal responsible for reimbursment to the department.

In July 1967 the Acting District Superintendent advised the Alberta Regional Director that following the termination of the lease in March 1968, all of the land not required for Blue Quills school's operation should be sold. Figure 5 indicates the original land for the school and subsequent changes to it. Because the Town of St. Paul had expressed an interest in buying some of the land for an airport, it was

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[278] Ibid., 2 September 1966.

[279] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Audit Reports, Blue Quills Students' Residence, vol. 2, file 779/16-2-009, 22 October 1966.

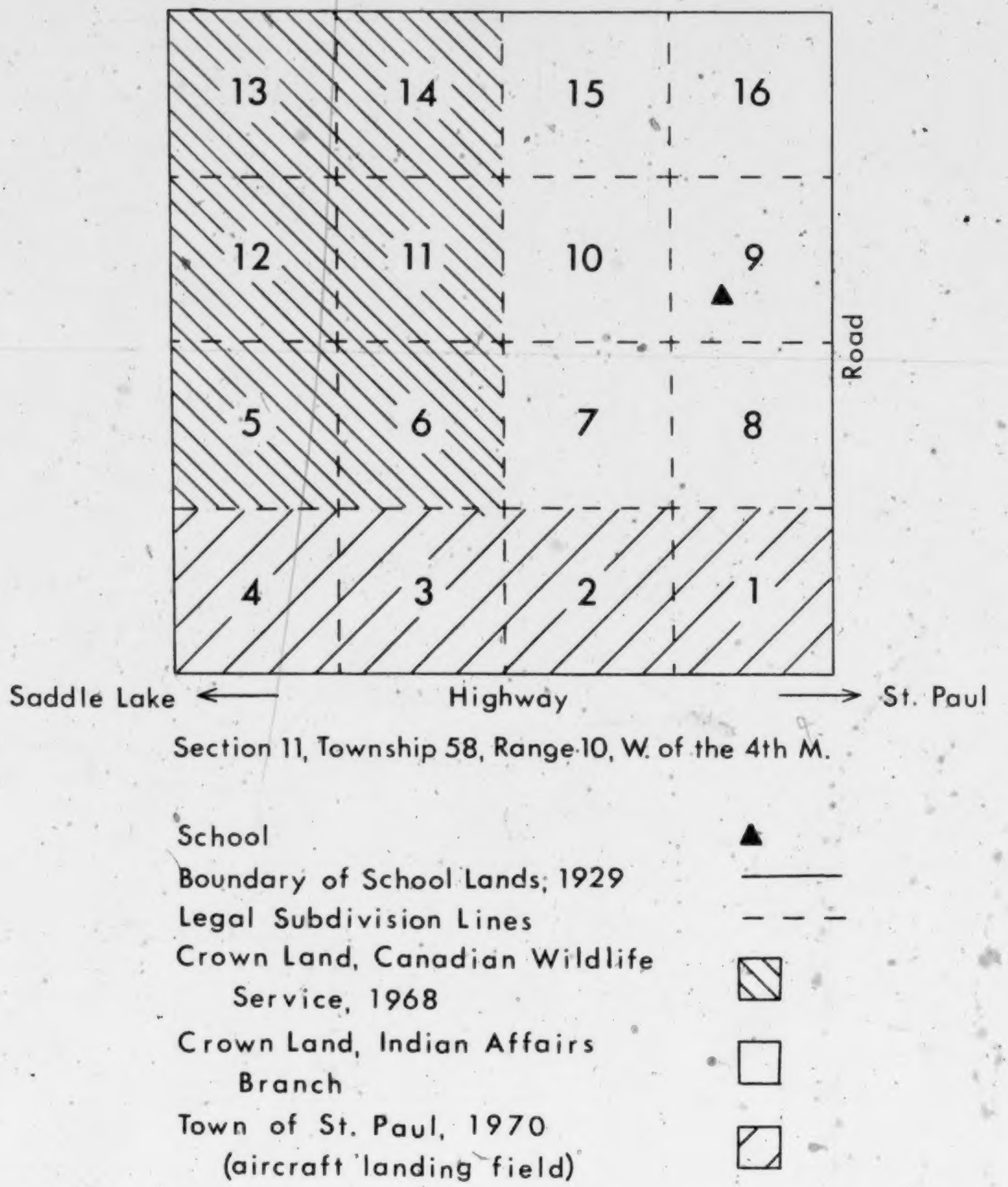
13
14
15
16
12
11
10
9
▲
Road
5
6
7
8
4
3
2
1
Saddle Lake ←
Highway
→ St. Paul
Section 11, Township 58, Range 10, W. of the 4th M.
School ▲
Boundary of School Lands, 1929 ———
Legal Subdivision Lines – – –
Crown Land, Canadian Wildlife Service, 1968 ▧
Crown Land, Indian Affairs Branch ☐
Town of St. Paul, 1970 (aircraft landing field) ▨

FIG. 5 SCHOOL LANDS

suggested they be given the opportunity to make this purchase.[280] The Regional Director agreed that the surplus land could be sold, but cautioned against allowing the St. Paul Flying Club to construct a landing field unless noise factors and danger to students and staff were overcome. The Canadian Wildlife Service of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development had also expressed an interest in some of the land; in December 1968 Legal Subdivisions 5, 6, 11, 12, and 14 were transferred to them.[281]

The government decided that the Indian Affairs Branch would keep Legal Subdivisions 7, 8, 9, and 10 for the Blue Quills School, and the remaining subdivisions would be declared surplus through the Crown Assets Corporation. The Town of St. Paul wanted subdivisions 1, 2, 3 and 4 for an aircraft landing strip; the department's only condition of sale was that the airstrip run in an east-west direction to prevent planes flying over the school.

Plans for School Integration

The previous chapter outlined the government's recommendations for the Blue Quills School made in 1956: an integrated school program with St. Paul, the construction of an auditorium for grades 1 to 6, bussing grades 7 to 12 to St. Paul and providing dormitory facilities for these students. The period 1964 to 1969 saw the attempt to implement these recommendations.

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[280] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, School Lands, Blue Quills Students' Residence, vol. 2, file 779/36-4-009, 12 July 1967.

[281] Ibid., vol. 1, file 779/36-4-009, 3 December 1968.

In the spring of 1964 there were discussions between the regional office in Edmonton and department officials in Ottawa about the possibility of closing the grade 8 class at Blue Quills and bussing the students from it into St. Paul. However, the St. Paul Public (Catholic) School Board had placed limits on the number of Indian students it would accept from Indian Affairs, and the Alberta Regional Superintendent of Schools advised that the class be retained at the school.[282] When Roy Piepenburg, Supervising Principal of the Saddle Lake Agency, carried out an overall study of the administration, academic program, and facilities of the Blue Quills School, the evaluation of the school operation was favourable. In the area of school-parent relations it was noted that parents frequently took their children home for the weekend, and that "The administration has developed co-operative relations with parents."[283]

The department's plans for a gradual transition from a multi-purpose institution to a junior-senior high school hostel were outlined in 1965 by the Supervising Principal. The school was to reduce the number of elementary grades offered, substantially increase the number of day pupils and enrol a limited number of day pupils who were "unable to adapt to integrated schools" and some who were "slow learners."[284] The increase in number of day pupils can be seen in Table V. Between 1957 and 1964 the number of day students remained fairly constant. A ten-fold increase in the number of day students occurred in 1965, after a conflict situation developed between the school principal and the Indian parents over the administrator's conduct with some female pupils. The parents then withheld their daughters from the school. The department's plans for the school are indicated in Table VI.[285] The projection was that between 1965 and 1970 Blue Quills would become a residence for students attending integrated classes.

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[282] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, School Establishment, Blue Quills, vol. 1, file 779/1-13-009, 14 May 1964.
[283] Ibid., 9 November 1964.

Because of building changes begun in 1965 and the church officials' willingness to facilitate its completion, the department recommended the construction of a gymnasium to replace "the grossly sub-standard once condemned east extension."[286] To bring attention to the need for an auditorium or gymnasium, the principal, Father Lyonnais, wrote the Assistant Deputy Minister of the Indian Affairs Branch,[287] and the Saddle Lake Local of the Catholic Indian League invited the press and the local member of parliament

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[284] Ibid., 21 May 1965.
[285] This table was included in a report on "Existing School Facilities and Teacher Accommodation," Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, School Buildings, Blue Quills, vol. 1, file 779/6-1-009, 29 June 1965.
[286] Ibid.
[287] Archives Deschatelets, Oblate Indian Commission, Blue Quills, box 15, file 6, 6 August 1965.

Table V

No. of Day Students Attending Blue Quills, 1957-1969

Year	Number of Day Students		Total
	Male	Female	
1957	3	2	5
1958	4	2	6
1959	3	2	5
1960	3	2	5
1961	4	2	6
1962	4	2	6
1963	3	2	5
1964	3	2	5
1965	4	3	7
1966	30	40	70
1967	31	19	50
1968	38	26	64
1969	34	27	61

Table VI

Department Projected Five Year Enrolment Plan, 1965-1970

Year	Blue Quills Classrooms	Total in Residence	Number Attending Fully Integrated Classes
1965-66	175	160	40
1966-67	150	160	55
1967-68	125	165	70
1968-69	100	170	85
1969-70	75	175	100

to inspect the school.[288] The Supervising Principal for the Agency reported that a new gymnasium was necessary as "the philosophy of the school will be to bring townspeople and town students to the Blue Quills Residence to help facilitate the process of acculturation and integration."[289]

Although the department approved building the gymnasium as well as acquiring portable classrooms for kindergarten grades, no action was taken. In August 1966 the Saddle Lake Band sent a petition to the department asking for a new gym,[290] and students wrote the Minister with similar requests.[291] Roy Piepenburg, then District School Superintendent for the Saddle Lake Inspectorate, wrote the Regional Superintendent of Indian Schools:

> Some of the Indian people are rather skeptical about the prospect of building the gymnasium and they now suspect that there has been an unforeseen delay in our plans. At this point we could alleviate these fears by announcing a definite target date for the construction of the gymnasium. It is expected that unless we can display some visual evidence that construction will begin soon, the Saddle Lake people may again resort to political influence to hasten the building of the gymnasium.[292]

Contracts for the gymnasium were awarded in 1968, and a year later (1969) the gymnasium was officially opened.[293]

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[288] St. Paul Journal , 16 September 1965.

[289] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, School Buildings, Blue Quills Students' Residence, vol. 1, file 779/6-1-009, 22 September 1965.

[290] Ibid., vol. 8, file 779/6-1-009, 25 August 1966.

[291] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Audit Reports, Blue Quills Students(Resience, vol. 3, file 779/16-2-009, 23 October 1966.

[292] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, School Buildings, Blue Quills Students' Residence, vol. 8 779/6-1-009, 29 September 1966.

In addition to the gymnasium, proposals were put forward regarding the general renovation of the school for its future use as a hostel for older students. Before these proposals were made however, a number of persons and organizations were consulted--band councils and school committees of the Saddle Lake Agency, church organizations and religious workers living on the reserves served by the school, members of the Indian Association of Alberta, and the principal of the school.[294] The Indian Affairs Branch District School Superintendent said to his superiors that:

> Sensing the true feelings of Indian parents, band councillors and chiefs from the reserves is problematical, to say the least. Reserve society is ridden with factionalism and divergent viewpoints. Regardless of the intricacies that exist, we find it necessary to go through the consultation processes that ultimately will resolve fundamental policy questions.[295]

Members of the Saddle Lake Band Council were worried that if Blue Quills was to make the transition from residential school to hostel accommodation for senior students, then more social progress would have to be made on the reserve. In 1966 Alberta Indians were given the right to enter beer parlors and purchase liquor in Provincial liquor vendors. The Saddle Lake Reserve voted in a plebicite to reject liquor privileges on their reserve. This meant that although liquor could be purchased off-reserve, it could not be taken home.[296] Welfare problems had become more serious on the reserve and the Band Council stated that housing, roads, and welfare concerns would have to improve before their children could live at home and attend day school.

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[293] St. Paul Journal , 28 May 1969.
[294] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, School Buildings, Blue Quills Students' Residence, vol. 1, file 779/6-1-009, 12 October 1965.
[295] Ibid., 19 December 1966.

Members of the religious orders involved also had some reservations about sending students into provincial schools. Father Gagnon, who became principal of the school in 1966, circulated a petition on behalf of the Catholic Indian League to residents of all the reserves of the Agency which requested the expansion of residential school accommodation at Blue Quills and the discontinuation of the phasing out of the elementary grades.[297] Because the principal, according to the department, had not mentioned these concerns to the District Supervisor at previous meetings when the future of the school was discussed, the Supervisor was prompted to write the Regional Director:

> Judging from contacts I have had with the members of the teaching staff at Blue Quills, some opposition to changing the nature of the institution is coming from the personnel now posted there. Some, perhaps, need Blue Quills Residential School more than the children (do).[298]

Given the concerns expressed by the Indian parents and the religious leaders, the conversion of Blue Quills from a residential, multipurpose institution to a purely hostel type of accommodation for senior students would have to be gradual if at all. It would have to allow those opposed to the changes time to adapt to a different function for the school and perhaps seek other changes.

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[296] St. Paul Journal, 17 November 1966.
[297] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, School Buildings, Blue Quills Students' Residence, vol. 9, file 779/6-1-009, 15 February 1967.
[298] Ibid.

Hawthorn Report on School Integration

Government concern about in the implementation of integrated education was also the first recommendation of the Hawthorn Report. It stated that "The integration of Indian children into the public school system should proceed with due concern for all involved and after the full co-operation of local Indians and non-Indians has been secured."[299]

The report was critical of Indian residential schools generally, and said, "It is not surprising that the Indian Affairs Branch disapproves of them and is trying to reduce their role in the education of young Indians to a minimum."[300]

In discussing the ideologies of denominational groups involved in Indian education, including the Oblate Fathers, the Hawthorn Report said:

> Moral and religious education are also plainly conspicuous in the residential school, perhaps to the detriment of a more technical and, in short, more realistic training. Therefore, it is understandable that school integration should be looked upon as a stop-gap solution which, "morally and spiritually," would hardly be appealing in the eyes of these missionaries.[301]

This report was an important examination of the effects of government policy. In the field of education, it cautioned against integration without the support of the Indian community. The report recommended that denominational boarding schools should cease to operate as schools and be converted into hostels. This report, of course, reinforced the department's plan for Blue Quills.

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[299] Hawthorn, p. 12.
[300] Ibid., p. 58.
[301] Ibid., p. 95.

Relations with the Church

The church operated the school with increasing intervention from government. During this period one principal said to the author that while the government was planning assimilation the church staff supported integration. Added to these differences he said, were the different levels of government for the church to deal with; "when the district level would say 'no' you could have a 'yes' by telegramming Ottawa, although this didn't make you popular with the district."

The Indian Affairs Branch issued many directives and manuals to church administrators of Indian schools. A "Guidance Manual for Indian Schools" was issued in 1961, outlining the need for a guidance program and providing record keeping information and various testing techniques for school personnel.[302] The education division of the department issued a memorandum in 1962 stating that the 12 to 29 percent of Indian pupils who were not promoted was too high a percentage and that teachers should be aware that "non-promotion as a technique for improving school achievement is unwarranted."[303]

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[302] Provincial Archives of Alberta, Oblate Accession 71.220, B-VIII-500, box 60, 1961.

The department also began charging school staff room and board.[304] One woman who worked at the school said:

> Then we had to pay for our room over there. I don't know why, because when we were there it was 24 hour duty, so we shouldn't have to pay for our room. Then our meal was $30 a month too.

Church administrators were also under inspection by the department. Federal dieticians made annual visits, and the Agency Superintendent and District School Superintendent came at least once a year. The agency reported on the general operation of the school, while the School Superintendent inspected classrooms and made recommendations to the regional office in Edmonton and the department headquarters in Ottawa. The Federal Department of Public Works also sent safety and fire inspectors to the school annually.

In April 1969 the non-teaching staff at the school became members of the Public Service Alliance. Since the principal was included in this group, his role in hiring staff and setting salary ended. This had a significant effect on the church staff at the school. The inclusion of Indian residential non-teaching staff in the Public Service Alliance was significant because it formalized their job description, working conditions, and relations with the church. The staff had their work week reduced and were given pay rates comparable to others doing a similar job. Grievances and hiring were no longer handled by the administrator, but by the federal government. One couple who were employed for thirty years at the school said:

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[303] Indian Association of Alberta, T.A.R.R., 1.E., April 1962.

[304] Grey Nun Archives, Blue Quills Ecole Historique, no. 111A, September 1964.

> As far as I'm concerned some of the Sisters didn't do what they were supposed to do. They were in charge and that was it. Most of the priests were for the Sisters all the time, so we couldn't do much complaining. Until the civil service took over--then we were more free to have our say and they couldn't fire us.

C. INSIDE THE STUDENT WORLD

Blue Quills students were becoming increasingly involved with the community outside the school. As indicated in Table VII, student enrolment varied from a low of 66 students in 1931 to a high to 157 students ten years later. After 1943, the enrolment was more stable until the late 1960's. This table also indicates that in the early years of the school's operation, enrolment dropped significantly after the first grade. After World War II, however, more students remained until the fifth and sixth grades. This section examines three aspects of being a student during the 1960's--student relationships, school social activities, and attending an integrated high school.

Student Relationships

Although the boys and girls were separated in the school building and grounds and occasionally in the classroom, the school staff began to organize and encourage some mixed social life. For example, social dances were held

Table VII

No. of Students Enrolled in Blue Quills Indian Residential School, 1931-1971

Year	No. by Grade								No. of Students		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Male	Female	Total
1931	25	6	16	7	9	3	0	0	35	31	66
1932	25	5	8	6	13	7	5	0	40	29	69
1933	51	8	15	9	7	8	4	0	51	51	102
1934	67	18	10	11	7	10	8	0	65	66	131
1935	64	21	7	12	5	11	7	0	65	62	127
1936	46	33	27	13	6	14	5	0	76	68	144
1937			(not available)						78	66	144
1938			(not available)						76	80	156
1939			(not available)								155
1940			(not available)								150
1941			(not available)						67	90	157
1942			(not available)						45	75	120
1943	39	19	23	27	31	13	7	4	63	100	163
1944	38	20	16	19	35	15	8	6	65	92	157
1945	37	22	16	19	19	14	12	11	62	88	150
1946	34	29	21	21	17	9	9	22	68	94	162
1947[1]	53	30	23	21	16	12	3	18	79	97	176
1948	49	34	23	26	16	9	7	9	74	99	173
1949	43	44	22	29	20	10	9	5	82	100	182
1950	47	40	30	20	23	7	11	3	81	100	181
1951			(not available)						73	100	173
1952	33	31	28	30	23	17	7	4			173
1953	52	31	28	24	23	14	12	6	85	105	190
1954	49	36	29	26	21	14	14	7	89	107	196
1955[2]	35	38	33	29	19	15	13	11	96	102	198
1956	29	31	34	28	21	14	13	11	97	96	193

Table VII, continued

No. of Students Enrolled in Blue Quills Indian Residential School, 1931-1971

Year	No. by Grade								No. of Students		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Male	Female	Total
1957	24	32	27	25	22	16	11	12	91	96	187
1958	14	29	26	21	22	16	10	7	88	97	185
1959	16	30	30	27	23	14	12	7	92	95	187
1960	22	30	34	29	20	15	13	11	92	95	187
1961	26	31	32	31	26	17	13	14	93	97	190
1962	20	25	22	28	27	23	14	10	79	90	169
1963	21	22	23	26	27	26	20	7	78	94	172
1964	23	22	19	21	22	24	22	5	78	80	158
1965	13	22	18	20	22	23	24	15	82	75	157
1966	--[3]	20	22	20	25	24	26	26	84	79	163
1967	--	12	26	21	22	30	31	23	82	85	165
1968	--	5	11	14	11	13	17	14	43	42	85
1969	(not available)								48	63	111
1970	(not available)								(not available)		
1971[4]	--	--	--	20	46	37	25	29	88	69	157

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[1] One girl is recorded as a high school student from 1947 to 1950.

[2] In October 1955 a Beginners' Class was opened with five students. This class was closed June 1960.

[3] Grade 1 enrolment not recorded after 1965. This class was closed in keeping with the department's policy of having Grade 1 pupils in day schools in towns and on the reserves.

[4] Enrolment not recorded for Grades 1, 2 and 3. Grade 9 was opened at the school with 10 boys and 12 girls attending.

at the school, although close waltzes were forbidden, and in the winter mixed ice skating was allowed on Sunday afternoons. The students used various means to keep in touch with the opposite sex; an example of such attempts, "I remember one time we used walkie talkies to socialize with the girls but we were found out because of the wiring system or the pipes. Somehow it got connected with the television and we got caught because our voices came on the television."

A reflection of church policy of discouraging intimate boy-girl relationships was found in their concern with same sex friendships. Girls were discouraged from holding hands or forming close friendships with each other, although the boys were not as closely monitored.

The school had a "charge" system where the younger children were taken care of by the older ones. This system often had the effect of fostering antagonism between students, as one explained:

> When you were a little kid you had an older boy taking care of you. He was supposed to make sure you didn't get into mischief, because if you got into mischief he got a licking. So if he got a licking, he'd give you a licking. The same thing when I was old enough to take care of a little boy. If the little bugger would get into mischief I'd get shit for it, so I used to give it to him. Because that's exactly the way it was done to me, so I thought that was right.

Students were rewarded by the staff for reporting on each others' activities. It was not unusual when a boy ran away for his schoolmates to chase after him to return him to the school. Students perceived different treatment based on the color of their skin, however. One said, "The nuns made my twin brother and I study much harder than the other kids because we looked white, and they therefore expected us to do a lot better than the other kids." These lighter skinned children often would be chosen to make presentations to visiting church officials.

The presence of Cree and Chipewyan speaking students in the same school influenced student relations. The Chipewyan students were considered, both by themselves and the Cree students, to be better scholastically. One Cree student said the differences were worsened by the Chipewyan calling the Cree students "Indians." A nun who taught at the school said:

> There was quite a barrier between the Cree and Chipewyans, and there was a sort of animosity between the two. They're so different. The Cree are a proud people, and I would say they don't achieve as well as the Chipewyans. The Chipewyans are harder workers. They achieve better and stick to something when they start. The Crees take life easy.

One Chipewyan man observed of the relations between the two groups:

> I think the nuns and priests pushed a lot of Cree versus Chipewyan things on us, although the students themselves didn't feel that way too much because we were all under the same conditions. We had a common enemy. I mean I'm speaking like a radical because that's what that school made me. We all had a common enemy with the big white cloaks and the cross.

School Social Activities

The main contact Blue Quills students had with other students in other schools was sports. In 1961 the first

Indian School Track and Field Meet was held at the school,[305] and inter-school competitions between schools of the Saddle Lake Agency continued for the next seven years.[306] In addition to sports, the only all-Indian Navy and Sea Cadet League in Canada and their brass band were part of the school until 1966 when Father Lyonnais was replaced as principal by Father Simon Gagnon.

The church attempted to provide students with school and social experiences similar to those found in non-Indian schools: the students held a ceremony to honor the new Canadian flag in 1965,[307] they changed the school newspaper "Moccasin Telegram" to a school year book, and they occasionally took the students Halloweening in St. Paul.[308] In other ways the students were isolated; one pupil said:

> I remember we didn't have many prejudices, we never called people "Chinks" or "Niggers." But our world was so small. We were really protected in a way from the outside world. I remember in grade five the Suez Canal. We prayed there wasn't going to be a war, and we listened to the news on the radio.

The annual Christmas concert continued to be a school highlight with two segregated performances, one given for the Indian parents and another for the people from St. Paul. In the early 1960's the main concert plays had a religious theme such as "Pilate's Daughter and the Mystic Rose" and

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[305] St. Paul Journal, 8 June 1961.
[306] Ibid., 19 June 1968.
[307] Grey Nun Archives, Blue Quills School Chroniques, vol. III, 15 February 1965.
[308] Ibid., 31 October 1969.

"The Madonna of the Rose."[309] Later more secular themes such as "The Prince and the Pauper," "Christmas Carol," and "The O'Hara Ring," were staged.[310] In 1967 a special Centennial play "Hello World" was presented.[311] That year the students went to the Edmonton Jubilee Auditorium to take part in the Indian Centennial Festival.[312] The local newspaper gave wide coverage to these plays, including a synopsis of the production and several photographs.

Students also participated in talent shows, essay contests, and public speaking competitions. The nun who arranged the public speaking contests recalled:

> We had public speaking, and I'm telling you those kids were good. When I told the principal I'm very interested in public speaking and I'm going to teach those children he said, "Teach Indians public speaking? Well you've got something else coming. They can't even talk, they can't even open their mouths." And I said, "Well, we'll see." One day we had a competition in St. Paul and it was against the white children. I thought to myself it's going to be a little bit tougher with white children because they have more expression. So I said, "You know you can make it, don't be afraid of white children. You are capable and you are ready." So they went up there and came with first and second prize.

When the first Saddle Lake Agency Public Speaking Contest for Indian schools was held at Blue Quills in 1964, the St. Paul newspaper headlined that "Stoics are Loquacious."[313] Girls from the Blue Quills 4-H Clothing Club also participated in public speaking contests, and by 1967

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[309] St. Paul Journal, 14 December 1961; 20 December 1962.
[310] Ibid., 10 December 1964; 16 December 1965; 22 December 1966.
[311] Ibid., 13 December 1967.
[312] Grey Nun Archives, Blue Quills School Chroniques, vol. III, 8 January 1967.
[313] St. Paul Journal, 30 January 1964.

Inter-Agency Public Speaking Contests were held for Indian students.[314]

High School in St. Paul

The students attending high school were isolated from their non-Indian classmates for a number of reasons. The major reason was discrimination by non-Indians. There were few friendships formed between Indian and non-Indian students. Many St. Paul pupils considered the Indian students inferior and wanted little to do with them. The church authorities at the school supported contact in the classroom and on the sports field. They discouraged it in other areas. A woman who attended the school in St. Paul for grades 7, 8 and 9 and then boarded at Blue Quills during high school said of her experience with integration:

> We were forced to go to the school in St. Paul (for junior high school) because the department said we lived close to the bus. I hated going there. We weren't prepared for it at all. And the white kids weren't prepared for us Indians either. And I was the only Indian in grade six. The kids right off the bat picked on me. My jacket would be hung up on one side of the room because they didn't want the "squaw germs." By the time we got to high school, they wanted to be friends with us, but with us--no way. We had our own little clan and there was nobody who could get in there at all.

The Indian students themselves looked down on any of their classmates who dated non-Indians. One student said of his high school experience:

> We were not prepared for it at all. We were so used to being with our native peers that we were not used to be around white people. Just the nuns and priests were the only white contacts we ever had, and maybe the lay people around. And all of a sudden you're

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[314] Ibid., 28 May 1964; 27 April 1967.

> thrown in with a bunch of white kids that laugh at you because everybody is wearing coveralls. We were very vulnerable to insults from the white kids. You see the town kids were very different from what we were; they had a hell of a lot more freedom.

Until high school, students wore clothing that was either made at the school or purchased in large lots from wholesale houses. One said, "There was every day clothes, school clothes, Sunday clothes, and feast day clothes. The difference would be ugly, nice, nicer, and the best. We always got clothes just slightly behind the times." When a student went to integrated high school they could go shopping with the nuns and wear their own clothes. Other advantages included fewer chores at the school, staying up later, having eggs rather than porridge for breakfast, and for the girls growing their hair longer and wearing makeup.

While the first students who attended high school in St. Paul during the 1950's expressed the experience in favorable terms, students of the 1960's were less enthusiastic. One woman said:

> I don't think integration was too effective. We were a group apart anyway. We couldn't make any friends in the school, and we couldn't go to their homes after school.

Integrated schools did give students the opportunity to have experiences they might not otherwise have had at a reserve or residential school. One man said:

> We were exposed to other things, to an integrated school system and they seen such a vast difference from an Indian school or home life on the reserve. And they started rebelling. A lot of times guys would sneak off with girls. They were starting to rebel. They didn't want to take any shit from the supervisors. And parents started getting involved,

> like petty complaints. I remember one time they had a meeting with the priest. He was sort of getting too close to the girls and the girls told their parents. I guess the system was starting to break down.

In 1969 the high school students from Blue Quills sponsored an Indian Week at Racette School in St. Paul in order to promote better understanding.[315] One Indian speaker addressed native and non-native students on the causes of discrimination against native people. Others spoke of the need for government cooperation and pride in Indian heritage.

As high school students the pupils became more aware of the role of the department in their lives. In the 1960's the government had a summer placement program for high school students, and occasionally they counselled the students about employment. On the other hand high school students were also given disruptive information by the church about the department. One student recalled:

> They (church staff) told us that communism was bad; we used to hate the communists. And they used to say, "Mr. Knapp (department employee) wants to get rid of the nuns. Once they get rid of the nuns, once Indian Affairs takes over, then communism will take over." I remember getting a bad impression of Mr. Knapp. For one thing I don't think he was Catholic, and maybe he put the screws on the priests and nuns. He was superintendent.

Students attending the integrated school were insulated in their relations with non-Indian students. Part of this was based on church rules requiring students to return to the residence when the school day ended and when in school few St. Paul pupils wanted to associate with Indian students. Although attending high school gave Blue Quills students more exposure to the outside world, they were still controlled by the church and the department. While the government continued to push ahead with its policy of integration with respect to Blue Quills, changes experienced in the native community would soon make this difficult. The following section examines the developments on the Saddle Lake Reserve and in the Indian community.

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[315] Ibid., 4 June 1969.

D. THE INDIAN HOME COMMUNITY

In order to understand the factors which contributed to the 1970 confrontation between the native community and the department over the future of the Blue Quills School, it is necessary to be aware of the numerous changes that occurred on reserves in the 1960's. This section reviews some of these developments.

Developments on the Saddle Lake Reserve

The previous chapter discussed the founding and early operation of the Catholic Indian League and its views of conditions on the reserves and the education of Indian children. The objectives of the League as stated in 1954 were slightly different from those of six years later. The concerns with general social and economic development at the reserve level were replaced with the specific goal of fostering vocations in the religious orders of the church. The League continued to be under the direction of Oblate priests. By 1960 its membership included 2,000 Indians.[316]

Reflecting the shift to a focus more specifically church related, the League at its 1960 convention passed a resolution asking that the Indian Affairs Branch appoint Catholic social workers and Catholic school inspectors. The Minister replied that the regulations of the Civil Service Commission did not permit appointments on a religious basis. The League reiterated these requests the following year, and also restated their long-standing wish that Blue Quills be developed as a junior and senior high school offering both academic and vocational courses.

In 1962, the concerns of the League had broadened. The conference theme was "The Development of the Indian Reserve as a Community" and for the first time department representatives attended with the Oblates and Indian people. A department official stated in one session on community development on reserves, "The policy of integration as it now stands is not based on scientific premises, and seems to oppose itself to the ideal of community development."[317] Clive Linklater, an Indian teacher at Blue Quills School, spoke about the transfer of services from the federal government to the provincial government, suggesting that this transfer of services to the provinces indicated a further move toward the eventual disappearance of the reserve. The Regional Inspector of Alberta Indian Schools,

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[316] "Minutes and Proceedings, Catholic Indian League of Canada, Alberta Division 1954-1965," p. 28.
[317] Ibid., p. 72.

Kent Gooderham, attended these meetings and "expressed his very pleasant surprise to see Indians discussing such down-to-earth problems as this with an approach so realistic and so full of promise as that of community development through self-help programs."[318]

The convention held the following year at Hobbema again had a theme of community development. There were Oblate presentations on family and religious life and spiritual development, and representatives from the Alberta Credit Union and the Federated Co-Operatives spoke on the philosophy and mechanics of credit unions and co-ops. Directors from the Canadian Native Friendship Centre, the Catholic Indian and Metis Service, and the National Indian Council were also present to discuss the work of their organizations.

By 1964 credit unions were operated by three different Alberta locals of the Catholic Indian League. Although the topic of the League conference that year was "Family Life," community development was still the Indian delegates' primary concern. The resolutions passed dealt with leadership training and adult education. In addition, the League voted approval of the department's guidelines for Indian School Committees. These comittees are discussed later in this section. In 1965 at the annual convention the Saddle Lake Reserve reported on its activities: school committees, courses on marriage preparation, Alcoholics

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[318] Ibid., p. 74.

Anonymous meetings, as well as parish work and participation in the liturgy. Other developments in the Saddle Lake Agency and on the Saddle Lake Reserve had begun to take precedence over Indian involvement in the League. After 1965 the Catholic Indian League ceased to be an active force on reserves.

During the early 1960's the Saddle Lake Band Council hosted annual festivals during which Indian performers from Alberta and Saskatchewan performed native dances. In 1963 Indians from Manitoba and the nothern United States came to the festival although few non-Indians attended. The local newspaper editorialized:

> ...Why the people of St. Paul did not turn out is hard to assess. ...However, with the centennial celebrations in the offing and all the publicity and stimulation which has come out of St. Paul, we believe Indian performances of this nature are ready-made to remind us of the past of this country and the part the Indians played in its history as the first citizens of its plains and foothills areas. ...The Indian Dance is part of our heritage: it means much to the Indian trying to express his individuality through them; through promotions entirely of his own designs, we see sure signs of maturity and a desire to be accepted.[319]

In 1965, the Saddle Lake Stampede Association was formed, thereby assuring more non-Indian participation by stock promoters and rodeo organizers. When the Centennial Advisory Board was formed to discuss projects to celebrate Canada's 100th birthday, the Indian representative said that native people did not feel they were a part of the celebration. Ralph Steinhauer noted "the centennial celebrations are that of a nation commemorating a 100th anniversary of their country and because the Indians were here years before as a nation which has been displaced, (they) cannot enter into the full spirit of it."[320] The first leadership conference for bands in the Saddle Lake Agency was held at the Blue Quills School in 1961. Instructors from the department and the University of Alberta's Extension Service spoke on the fundamentals of organizing and planning effective programs on the reserves. The Chiefs and Councillors attending the conference also heard the Indian agent from High Prairie state that complete integration could be achieved over the next two generations. The department's integration plan of sending Indian students to public high schools was praised by the agent as being a step in the right direction.[321]

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[319] St. Paul Journal, 29 April 1965.

To publicize the organization the newly organized National Indian Council of Canada held a meeting on the Saddle Lake Reserve, sponsored by the Saddle Lake Local of the Catholic Indian League. The aims of the Council were to give a strong voice to Indian concerns at the national level, to coordinate activities of existing organizations, and to promote Indian culture. All speakers, including the President of the Alberta Indian Education Association, Clive Linklater, and the past President of the Indian Association of Alberta, Ralph Steinhauer, agreed that education for Indian children could be best obtained from Indian schools.

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[320] Ibid., 13 January 1966.

[321] Ibid., 30 November 1961.

However, the Chief of the National Indian Council, William Wuttunee, according to the local newspaper said:

> A topic that caused a flurry of excitement was a statement by Mr. Wuttunee that "the Indians have bitterness in their hearts towards the White people, and that they must lose this bitterness." He went on to say that the best way to eliminate this feeling is to educate the children in White man's ways, and then better relations could be developed among the two groups.[322]

The department sponsored community betterment courses, where members of the Indian community studied band government and leadership methods. When a Provincial Cabinet Committee on Indian Affairs was formed, one Indian delegate from each of the ten agencies in the province attended; Chief Ruben Bull of the Goodfish Lake Band represented the Saddle Lake Agency.[323]

These programs resulted in some members of the Indian community fearing that by accepting help from the provincial government their treaty rights would be threatened. When a leadership course on community development was held in St. Paul in 1964, one chief expressed the concern that the community development plan, under which an agency agreed to accept the services of an area officer who worked with the Indians to help them develop economic and social projects, was a "trap" to force Indians into doing "all the rough work" on such projects.[324]

The department continued to promote workshops encouraging contact between the Indian and non-Indian communities. Meetings between native leaders from Saddle Lake and local businessmen from St. Paul were held to encourage general discussions between the two, and courses were started on the reserve.[325] One way in which the Saddle Lake Band tried to provide more opportunities for work on their reserve was a development plan which was the outgrowth of adult education courses and community development workshops involving both Indians and non-Indians. The plan proposed to turn 55,000 acres of reserve land into productive farming land over a long term program. As one of the band representatives said, "The Indians want to be their own contractors on the project to provide employment to the people, which is one of the main principles behind the plan."[326]

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[322] Ibid., 1 November 1962.
[323] Ibid., 20 February 1964.
[324] Ibid., 10 December 1964.

When the department hosted a workshop for branch staff and Indian people to acquaint them with programs available outside the Indian Affairs Branch, the Saddle Lake Reserve was chosen as the site of the conference. The interest shown by reserve residents was evidenced by the new prefab plant for building and assembling homes on the reserve, as well as the agricultural development program. The reserve was becoming an example of Indian economic development. When construction of a co-op store on the reserve began, the St. Paul newspaper noted, "The Saddle Lake Band in the past years has shown a tremendous initiative with their land development project which is well on the way and are always looking at ways and means to improve the way of life on the reserve."[327]

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[325] The Workmen's Compensation Board sponsored first aid classes on the Saddle Lake Reserve in 1963. This was the first time such a course was concluded. Saddle Lake also formed a Cub and Brownie Pack in 1962.
[326] St. Paul Journal , 3 November 1966.

The non-Indian community was becoming more aware of changes on the Saddle Lake Reserve. When a bust of the Indian missionary Henry Bird Steinhauer was presented to the Saddle Lake United Church, the St. Paul newspaper wrote an article "Worthy of a Proud Heritage." It said:

> Was he (Henry Bird Steinhauer) in the world today he would most certainly give his blessing to Ralph Steinhauer who was one of the few Canadians to be awarded the new Order of Canada Medal, is Indian Chief in his own right at Saddle Lake and taken the leadership in many community developments. There is Eugene Steinhauer, director of the first Cree radio program now being broadcast from CKUA, Mike who is the editor of the Saddle Lake Smoke Signal, patriarch James Steinhauer who at 85 maintains all the traditions of his race with the stoic complex of a wise old Indian Chief, and all the other members of the family who have proved themselves to be true Canadian citizens.[328]

Community Opportunity Assessment, 1967

In 1966, the Government of Alberta's Human Resources Research and Development Council began a number of community assessment studies. The research was carried out at Saddle Lake by Morton Newman, with the assistance of two native women, Marie Smallface (Marule) and June Stifle (Maria Campbell), neither of whom were from the area studied.

The study found that the health and living conditions on the reserve were such that compared to the non-native population the people's life span was shorter, their opportunities for achievement in education hindered, and their general health poor; 52 per cent of the reserve lived in log cabins and 85 per cent drank from contaminated water supplies.[329] Although the reserve contained some good soil, the study showed that only five households from a population of 1,550 supported themselves through farming, and that the employment picture on the reserve was a discouraging one.

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[327] Ibid., 10 December 1969.
[328] Ibid., 2 November 1967.

The educational problems faced by children on the reserve were teachers who did not understand Indian problems, inadequate bus service for children attending school in St. Paul, over-crowded living conditions at home, and a high drop-out rate from high school. Although an adult education program, a vocational training program, and an informal apprenticeship program were being carried out on the reserve, they too were criticized for being inadequate.

The sources of unity on the reserve were the baseball team, celebrations at treaty time, and adult education classes; sources of disunity were the religious division between Catholic and Protestant and the lack of recreational activities.

The study concluded that "The present situation on the Saddle Lake Reserve seems to be almost totally destructive for any chance of progress by the people."[330] Recommendations were made regarding economic and community development, education, and in regards to the Indian Affairs

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[329] Newman, p. 23.
[330] Ibid., p. 102.

Branch. Underlying many of the recommendations was belief in the need to rewrite the Indian Act: "This Act appears more detrimental to the Indian people in the restriction it imposes upon them than it is beneficial in the guarantees it offers them."[331]

The Newman study blamed poor administration at the Blue Quills School as a major reason for the high drop-out rate of reserve Catholic students. The report went on to say:

> The Indian parents and students claim that the administration is the major cause for children leaving school before completing grade 12. They claim that the priest in charge of Blue Quills is much too strict; the children have little opportunity to mingle with the opposite sex and are prohibited from participating in sports together in the afternoons. In addition, they object to the priest's more permissive attitude to some of the girls and the perceived reason for this. Some of these girls have been permitted to visit their parents more than the one weekend per month that is the rule of the school, and some have received gifts of extra money and clothing from the priest. The two female interviewers spoke to five of the teenage girls who have left school and they all stated that advances made to them by the priest had been their main reason for leaving. (Subsequent enquiries made by researchers received sufficient corroboration from the Indian Affairs Branch for the statements to be included as considerations in this report. It has also been learned that the priest in question has since been transferred to a reserve in Saskatchewan. Although the people were in favor of the transfer, they felt that this type of action was only a short-run measure because the system itself remained unchanged.)[332]

When the study was tabled in the provincial legislature, the Edmonton Journal reviewed various parts of the document, and the St. Paul Journal reprinted the Journal article.[333] Newspaper opinion supported the study's view that life on the reserve seemed to offer little hope for improvement. In a later article entitled "The Anatomy of a Sick Reserve Called Saddle Lake,"[334] a journalist outlined problems in the Blue Quills School.

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[331] Ibid., p. 109.
[332] Ibid., p. 86.

A Blue Quills teacher, a Mr. Sommerville, responded to the newspaper article by saying that the Saddle Lake report needed an injection of common sense. He wrote, "Why should the stigma of this term ("dropouts") be attached to a child who is inherently incapable of completing the rigid academic program laid down by people who ought to know better?"[335] Morton Newman, the report's author, responded that his criticism of Blue Quills was justified given the teacher's belief that Indian children were "inherently incapable" and by the department's decision to relieve the priest in question from his duties.[336] The report implied that because the situation on the reserve and the incident at Blue Quills increased the friction between the Indian community and those who administered their lives, people on the reserve would be more likely to make demands.

Education and the Indian Community

When the Supervising Principal of the Saddle Lake Agency reviewed the adult education situation on the reserves in 1965, he recommended courses be initiated on the

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[333] St. Paul Journal , 23 March 1967.
[334] Edmonton Journal , 28 March 1967.
[335] Ibid., 18 April 1967.
[336] Ibid., 25 April 1967.

Saddle Lake Reserve since it showed the greatest promise. In the fall of 1965 the department sent an Adult Education Director to the Saddle Lake Reserve. When she found that almost everyone could read and write, she organized a program to include weekly discussions and invited people from outside the reserve to serve as guest speakers.

The subject of the first session was insurance, and the Mayor of St. Paul addressed the group on the practical aspects of insurance. Community development was also discussed, and the reserve's adult educator reported that organized educational activities on the reserve included academic upgrading, industrial arts classes, homemaking clubs, and discussion groups.[337]

The adult education program and the high percentage of reserve people drawing relief could develop into an "explosive situation" in a few years according to the Agency's Supervising Principal.

> By that time he said we will have educated a substantial number of young Indians. What will happen to them? Will they be forced back on the reserves with no jobs, living a life of frustration that will generate bitterness and enmity towards a society that has denied them the fulfillment of their efforts?[338]

When the adult education session focused on Indians and the law, a heated exchange occurred between a Band Councillor, who said that legal rights had been taken away from Indians and should be restored, and a department officer, who accused the Indians of not becoming involved and always expecting government support. At a later session on the press, a senior editor from the Edmonton Journal told the Indians of the power of the press and how to use it. When discussions were held on employment, many Indians told of the discrimination that existed and the difficulties faced when they looked for employment.[339]

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[337] St. Paul Journal, 3 March 1966.
[338] Ibid., 24 February 1966.

While the adult education classes were being held on the reserve, the first Federal-Provincial Education and Community Development Conference was held in St. Paul in 1966. People attending the meetings included Chiefs and Councillors from several reserves, and local, provincial and federal educators. When Indian delegates were refused accommodation at one of the hotels, the local Indian agent said "a bit of a misunderstanding" had caused the incident.[340] The guest speaker from the University of Alberta advocated including Indian parents as school trustees on boards where their children attended provincial schools. The Department Superintendent of Indian Education for Alberta replied that since Indian education was a federal financial responsibility and the Indian parents were not ratepayers the Provincial School Act would not permit this change.

When the adult education program ended, after other sessions on school integration, cooperatives and welfare, reserve members established a permanent Community Development Committee to explore future projects. The local newspaper editorialized:

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[339] Ibid., 24 March 1966.

[340] Edmonton Journal, 28 March 1966.

> Perhaps we in St. Paul in the past have taken the Indian for granted, because we are surrounded by reserves. Up until now, he has never been a threat to our way of life and we have to tolerate him. However, unless we make a sincere effort to integrate him into our society and make him part of our way of life, there is always danger of revolt, and forceful demonstrations, as one Indian speaker warned, unless we take the first step to make this transition into our society smoothly with co-operation and understanding.[341]

In the department's budget for Saddle Lake the following year, 1966-67, the amount allocated for adult education was cut by one third. The director of the program felt this would restrict her to academic upgrading courses and left the reserve when she was offered a promotion to Ottawa. Reserve members were upset by her departure and resentful toward the department, claiming that "Every time we get a good person on the reserve they transfer him."[342] Although the adult education and community development programs were not as effective in bringing about the immediate changes desired by reserve members, in many ways these served as a training ground for future actions. Indian people were learning to speak out.

In June 1963 the Indian Affairs Branch issued a circular on the organization of school committees. The department supported such committees because Indian people could learn "the basic principles of the democratic process" and acquire an understanding "of the value and cost of education for their children."[343]

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[341] St. Paul Journal, 28 April 1966.
[342] Newman, p. 92.

The school committees were to have responsibility for:

1. School attendance and truancy.
2. Care of school property and school grounds.
3. Attendance of Indian pupils at non-Indian schools.
4. Use of school buildings for community activities.
5. Special disciplinary problems.
6. Band fund appropriations for school activities.
7. Scholarships from Band funds.
8. Acquisition of sports and playground equipment.
9. Extra-curricular activities such as field days, school fairs and festivals, education expeditions etc.[344]

They also had consultation and advisory status in matters of:

1. School accommodation.
2. Actual school maintenance and repairs.
3. Day to day maintenance and care of the school-janitor duties. The committee may nominate the janitor.
4. Recommendations regarding educational assistance to students of the reserve.
5. Joint agreements with non-Indian schools.
6. Lunch supplies for winter months and supplementary school supplies provided by the Band.
7. School bus routes.
8. Reserve roads in relation to school bus routes.[345]

In 1967 both the Indian Association of Alberta and the Catholic Indian League of Alberta passed resolutions asking that Indians be allowed to sit on School Boards. When the Alberta legislature introduced a revision of the School Act in 1969 which would allow Indian representatives on Boards the new President of the Indian Association of Alberta, Harold Cardinal, wrote the Provincial Minister of Education:

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[343] "Instructions for the Organization of School Committees on Indian Reserves," Circular 453, Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Ottawa, 6 June 1963.
[344] Ibid.
[345] Ibid.

> We hold absolute objection to this complete section. Our attitude is that passing of this section would permit new, advanced involvement between Indian reserve representatives and provincial education jurisdictions at a time when we as treaty Indians have not yet had our legal status and educational rights reconfirmed by the Government of Canada.[346]

Although most of the concerns of the school committee were minor things such as school bus transportation, truancy, field trips, and school lunches, a special meeting of the Saddle Lake School Committee was held in September of 1969 to discuss the staff and working conditions at Blue Quills School.

At the meeting Stanley Redcrow, employed in maintenance and children's supervision at Blue Quills, asked the principal, Father Gagnon, why there were not more native people working at the school. The principal replied that the method of hiring staff under civil service regulations required open competition. Because the staff had become members of the federal Public Service Commission five months earlier, the department stated that the present staff would be retained until they resigned. Of the 28 non-teaching staff employed at the school in January of 1969, only two were native.

Although the principal had reservations about student acceptance of native supervisors, members of the Saddle Lake School Committee suggested to him that former pupils of the school would be especially valuable supervisors because of their experience with the school. The department District Superintendent of Schools, Walter King, suggested that some criteria, such as ability to speak a native language, could be added to those used in selecting applicants for school staff positions.

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[346] Correspondence between Harold Cardinal, President of the Indian Association of Alberta, and the Hon. Robert Clark, Alberta Minister of Education, 24 February 1970; quoted in Daniels, p. 251.

During the year the Saddle Lake School Committee continued to pressure the department and Blue Quills principal to hire more Indian people, and by October of 1969 four of the 30 nonteaching staff were Indian. In answering a student complaint, the principal said that the children resented discipline from anyone, Indian or non-Indian, and that the reason their parents sent them to Blue Quills was to be rid of them. This prompted one member of the committee, who had been a Blue Quills student in the 1930's, to reply, "My reason for having my children at Blue Quills is that I want them integrated, not because I can't handle them at home."[347]

This was not the first time the native community had complained about the church's involvement in Blue Quills, but it was this complaint which helped to mobilize the community into action. The church's efforts to establish native support by such means as the Catholic Indian League had not been successful. The exercise of authority by the government and church was not perceived as beneficial by the native community because they saw few desirable changes brought about. While the Indian community was becoming increasingly involved in adult education matters and reserve development, the federal government introduced the Government Policy Statement for Canada's Indians.

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[347] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, School Establishment, Blue Quills, vol. 1, file 779/1-13-009, 14 October 1969.

E. THE GOVERNMENT WHITE PAPER, 1969

In June of 1969 the Minister of Indian Affairs, Jean Chretien, tabled a policy paper in parliament on Indians. This statement, known as the White Paper, contained six major policy recommendations.[348]

These recommendations were (1) the removal of the legislative and constitutional bases of discrimination, (2) the recognition of the positive contribution of Indian culture to Canadian society, (3) the transfer of Indians from federal responsibility to provincial jurisdiction, (4) help for those who are furthest behind, (5) the recognition of lawful obligations, and (6) the ownership of reserve land by Indians. The government proposed that all services for Indian people, including education, be provided by the same government agencies which served all Canadians. The philosophy behind the government proposal was that if Indians were to achieve equality with other Canadians, the removal of any grounds for legal discrimination, particularly as found in the Indian Act , would be essential.

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[348] Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, 1969 . Published by the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa; Hereafter cited as the White Paper.

Native Reaction to the White Paper

The reaction by many Indians to the suggestion that the legal and constitutional bases for discrimination be removed was explosive. Many felt that the new policy went too far, too soon. The proposal to transfer land control to Indians caused concern that they might be cheated from their land by shrewd traders, and that it would terminate Indian status. Some felt that the federal government was evading its responsibilities by asking the provincial governments to extend their services to Indians.

Rejection of the White Paper was expressed in a statement by the Indian Chiefs of Alberta.[349] This statement, Citizens Plus, was quickly dubbed "The Red Paper" in its obvious opposition to the government's White Paper. The Red Paper was critical of the government's education policy, and stated clearly the desire of the Indian Chiefs of Alberta to control their own educational affairs. This paper requested Indian communities be given the same prerogatives of local control over educational policies and budgets as were non-Indian communities. It said

> Our education is not a welfare system. We have free education as a treaty right because we have paid in advance for our education by surrendering our lands. The funds for education should be offered to the tribal councils. Then the tribe can decide whether it will operate schools itself or make contracts with nearby public schools for places for some or all of its students. These contracts would provide for

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[349] Citizens Plus, A Presentation by the Indian Chiefs of Alberta to the Right Honourable P. E. Trudeau, Prime Minister and the Government of Canada. Ottawa: National Indian Brotherhood, June 1970; Hereafter cited as the Red Paper.

> Indian voice and vote in the operation of those schools.[350]

Harold Cardinal wrote in The Unjust Society about the White Paper:

> The supposed new policy is no different than the arbitrary dictations from Ottawa to the Indians that have been repeated down through our history. Superficially, the government white paper is wrapped in nice middle-class platitudes that reveal, upon examination, no content, no meaning. In spite of all government attempts to convince Indians to accept the white paper, their efforts will fail, because Indians understand that the path outlined by the Department of Indian Affairs through its mouthpiece, the Honourable Mr. Chretien, leads directly to cultural genocide. We will not walk this path.[351]

When the Alberta Liberal Association held a policy conference in St. Paul, the Chief of the Saddle Lake Reserve, Ralph Steinhauer, outlined the recent White Paper and expressed his concerns about the policy statement. It was, he said, totally out of keeping with Indian thinking and, "Needless to say, the suggested policy was rejected by the native people."[352]

Not only did the Saddle Lake community reject the White Paper; they were also beginning to question the department's plans for Blue Quills. The following section discusses some of these concerns.

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[350] Ibid., p. 14.
[351] Cardinal, Unjust Society, p. 139.
[352] St. Paul Journal, 8 October 1969.

F. EVENTS PRECEEDING THE OCCUPATION OF BLUE QUILLS

Classroom Operations

When the Indian school committees of the Saddle Lake-Athabasca District met the end of October 1969,[353] they were told by Walter King, the Acting District School Superintendent, that the Indian Affairs Branch planned to phase out the classrooms at Blue Quills the following year when the new Regional High School opened in St. Paul. The department planned to use the school residence as a high school student hostel. The school committees passed a resolution requesting that the residence continue to accommodate pupils from grades four to eight.

Indian School Committee

Later at a meeting between St. Paul Public School District officials and Indian Affairs officals, Indian school committee members claimed the Regional Superintendent of Education, E. R. Daniels, had announced Blue Quills was being closed at the request of the Indians. The Indians denied any such request and charged they were being manipulated by department employees.[354] At a meeting held on the Saddle Lake Reserve on 7 December 1969, the local school committee passed a resolution requesting that the department turn the operation of the school over to native management. The department did not respond to this request. The school committee met again and passed the same resolution and asked for assistance in replacing the existing staff with native people.[355]

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[353] In 1966 the Indian Affairs Branch was reorganized and the Saddle Lake Agency became the Saddle Lake-Athabasca District. Boundaries of this new district included twelve bands: Saddle Lake, Whitefish Lake, Kehewin, Frog Lake, Beaver Lake, Cold Lake, Heart Lake, Janvier, Ft. McKay, Ft. Chipewyan, Cree, and Ft. McMurray. The last five mentioned bands formed the Ft. McMurray District in 1979.

[354] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Admissions and Discharges, Blue Quills Students' Residence, vol. 6, file 779/25-2-009, 13 July 1970.

By April of 1970 the Saddle Lake School Committee had proposed a constitution for an organization to operate the Blue Quills School, and the proposal was approved by Chiefs from the Saddle Lake-Athabasca District.

Relations with St. Paul

Since the federal government's White Paper, the Indian Association of Alberta had become more active in taking part in local reserve issues. Harold Cardinal, President of the Association, at an education meeting in St. Paul in March of 1970, accused the provincial Department of Education and the local Regional High School Board of having gone ahead with negotiations about building a regional school in St. Paul without consulting any Indian people. The Saddle Lake School Committee then asked if it was possible for Blue Quills to come under Indian administration. Cardinal stated that if Ottawa refused this request perhaps it could be granted by staging a sit-in.[356] The St. Paul newspaper noted that, "Going around with a chip on his shoulder, and trying to scalp everybody, Mr. Cardinal rather than make friends who could help out his cause could turn many people against him doing more damage than good."[357]

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[355] Ibid.

[356] St. Paul Journal, 25 March 1970.

When the Chief of the Saddle Lake Reserve presented the President of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce an "Indian Friendship Scroll," the paper commented that "a start towards understanding" had begun.[358] While community meetings were being held between Indians and non-Indians to discuss mutual educational concerns, Roy Piepenberg, former District Superintendent of Education for Indian Affairs who had left to work for the Indian Associaion of Alberta, had drawn up a plan for transfer of Blue Quills to an Indian education group, and an outline of a program phasing in Indian administration of the school.[359]

At this time a Provincial Commission on Educational Planning headed by Walter Worth was in St. Paul to hear briefs on education.[360] The Saddle Lake Band presented a brief outlining the failure of the integrated school system. They demanded that the federal government should continue to bear financial responsibility for Indian education and give full autonomy and administrative control of education to the Indian bands. Their statement said, "We see very little that is good for Indian people coming out of the present educational arrangements."[361] When the Worth Report was released it agreed, claiming that "native education is so far in the past that it cannot wait on the future."[362]

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[357] Ibid., 1 April 1970.
[358] Ibid., 22 April 1970.
[359] Indian Association of Alberta, T.A.R.R., Blue Quills-Stanley Redcrow, 17 April 1970.
[360] see Walter W. Worth, Report of the Commission on Educational Planning (Edmonton: Queen's Printer, 1972).
[361] St. Paul Journal, 6 May 1970.

Transfer Proposal

The transfer plan drawn up by Piepenberg and the Indian Association for the Saddle Lake School Committee had three stages. Each stage dealt with the legal framework, administration, management of the program, financial control, personnel management, and curriculum development. For example, in the first stage, financial control would be handled by an operational budget for the Blue Quills residence and classrooms. In the second stage this budget would be expanded to include day schools, adult training, and capital projects. In the third stage, all facilities on and off the reserves would be budgeted and come under the financial control of Indian people.

School committee members from the Saddle Lake-Athabasca District held a workshop in St. Paul from 9 to 12 June, 1970. During these meetings this committee met with Indian Association representatives, members of the Indian Affairs Branch, and a representative from the Curriculum Division of the Alberta Department of Education. The school committee reported that Indian Affairs staff "gave their opinions as to the feasibility of our operation (of) the school and were most encouraging as to the possibility that the Department would consider our request favourably."[363] The Department Regional Superintendent of Schools, W. Ivan Mouat, noted that he attended this meeting prepared to discuss the take-over of the residence and how the school could be considered a private school funded by the department. This would give Blue Quills control to Indians, give it provincial recognition, and department financial support.

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[362] Worth, p. 160.

[363] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Admissions and Discharges, Blue Quills Students Residence, vol. 6, file 779/25-2-009, 13 July 1970.

At this workshop the Indian school committee also presented the department with a proposed constitution for an organization of native people to operate the Blue Quills Indian Residential School. According to the proposed constitution, the aims of this organization, the Blue Quills Native Education Council, would be (1) to administer the education of the treaty Indian children of the Saddle Lake-Athabasca District; (2) to provide a school residence for treaty or other Indian children as necessary; (3) to staff the school and residence with such employees as are necessary; and (4) to administer the school and residence through disbursements of funds allocated to the school and residence by the federal government. The proposal said:

> We have come to realize that we must take part in planning and in carrying out those plans if we are ever to regain our proper place in the social life of our own country. We can no longer be content to let others do our thinking for us. We, ourselves, must take the action which will remove the discrepancies which have existed in education for Indians in the past.[364]

School Committee Demands

On 2 July 1970 members of the Saddle Lake-Athabasca District School Committee and the Indian Association of

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[364] Indian Association of Alberta, T.A.R.R., Blue Quills Administrative Take-Over, 12 June 1970.

Alberta met with members of the Department of Indian Affairs in Edmonton and presented a list of demands. Among these demands were that the Acting District Superintendent of Education be kept in charge of education programs and that the Alberta Regional Superintendent of Education be removed from the department. They also demanded that the Blue Quills School be taken over by Indians 1 August 1970, and that the money budgeted for the school's operation be turned over to them. It was decided that another "high level meeting" to discuss these demands be rescheduled for 14 July 1970 at the school.[365]

The School Committee sent wires to the Minister and Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs requesting their presence at the 14 July meeting. They were informed that only the Director of the Education Branch would be able to attend. The School Committee Chairman, Stanley Redcrow, telegrammed the department, "We are prepared to sit there (at Blue Quills) till some one at the ministerial or deputy ministerial level comes to consult with us."[366] The Committee finally gave qualified approval to the Ottawa delegation, which was headed by the Assistant Deputy Minister, but told the department that "Indians have already started movement to Blue Quills School."[367]

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[365] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Admissions and Discharges, Blue Quills Students Residence, vol. 6, file 779/25-2-009, 7 July 1970.

[366] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, School Buildings, Blue Quills Students Residence, vol. 11, file 779/6-1-009, 9 July 1970.

G. THE SIT-IN AT BLUE QUILLS

The sit-in began 14 July 1970 in the gymnasium of the school. The Saddle Lake School Committee had previously obtained the administrator's permission to use the gym for meetings. This setting served as the meeting centre and became the occupation site. Because there were no students in the school's dormitories at this time, people at the sit-in used the residence facilities. The occupation began with approximately 60 people, mostly from reserves in the Saddle Lake Agency, and peaked at about 300. At its height there were native people from other provinces as well as non-Indian supporters. A former student described the sit-in:

> There was all sorts of things going on at the sit-in, like entertainment, singing, dancing, and we'd stay awake all night telling jokes, especially the old men. I think they brought in all the old men in the area into the big gym. We had blankets spread out and all sorts of Indian entertainment, jokes and dancing, and their own way of praying. Most of the time nobody gave a bad time to anybody and the odd time there's be big shots coming around flashing cameras. We weren't hurting anybody, just sitting there saying what we wanted and what's been lacking.

Early Attempts at Negotiation

Four representatives of the department met with 60 Indians at Blue Quills on July 14th, and they were presented with a proposed constitution for the Blue Quills Native Education Council under which the Council proposed to operate the school. The department representative countered with the suggestion that the Indians should form a separate school district under provincial jurisdiction. The Indians rejected this, arguing that any move to transfer education to provincial jurisdiction would be a violation of their treaty rights. The meeting broke up when Indian delegates asked the department representatives to leave, saying that they would occupy the school until they met with the Minister for Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Jean Chretien.

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[367] Indian Association of Alberta, T.A.R.R., Blue Quills Administrative Take-Over, 10 July 1970.

The Minister invited a delegation to meet with him in Ottawa, but the Council rejected this idea, asking the Minister come to the school. The President of the Indian Association of Alberta said of the Minister, "He won't meet us on a matter of principle. But last year when he was trying to peddle his White Paper, we couldn't keep him off our reserves."[368]

The Minister's reluctance to meet with the protestors was met with increasing support for the sit-in by the native community. For example, the National Indian Brotherhood, a federation of nine provincial and two territorial political groups of registered Indians, gave its support to the sit-in and sent a telegram to the Minister urging him to meet with the group at Blue Quills School.[369] This was one of the Brotherhood's first involvements in advocating Indian views on the national level.[370] The Native Youth Alliance for Liberation also took part in the sit-in, and said "We are with you in the struggle. May there be many more Blue Quills school sit-ins across Canada."[371] About 45 students from various schools in the Saddle Lake-Athabasca District picketed the regional Indian Affairs office in Edmonton, handing out pamphlets urging support for "the fundamental right of parents to control their children's education."[372] (see Plate 4, page 171)

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[368] Edmonton Journal, 18 July 1970.

[369] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, School Buildings, Blue Quills Students Residence, vol. 11, file 779/6-1-009, 20 July 1970.

The Church Leaves the School

During the sit-in members of the religious orders at the school left. In May of 1970 Father Gagnon, administrator, had given his resignation to the department effective 31 July 1970. The reasons given by him for his resignation were (1) an unjustified but continual pressure from Indians who expressed the intention of taking over the administration by sit-in or by force; (2) the uncertainty of being able to continue to work effectively; (3) a continued feeling of lack of trust from the new Acting District Superintendent; and (4) lack of communication from the Acting Superintendent "who seems to be unable to take a decision without first referring it to an Indian counsellor aid who has very little education and who is unable to solve the educational problems of this school."[373] Father Gagnon's resignation months before the sit-in indicated his knowledge of the Indian community's dissatisfaction. His uncertainty about being able to work effectively was likely influenced by the government's White Paper, which if implemented would have removed the church's active role in Indian education. On another level, he stated he was unable to work with the District Superintendent who was very supportive of native aspirations.

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[370] Rothman, p. 43.
[371] Indian Association of Alberta, T.A.R.R., Blue Quills Administrative Take-Over, 19 July 1970.
[372] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, School Buildings, Blue Quills Students Residence, vol. 11, file 779/6-1-009, 20 July 1970.

The Oblates and Grey Nuns stayed at the school until 15 July 1970 and then began to move their belongings to St. Paul. Upon leaving the school they noted:

> C'est un dernier voyage à Blue Quills pour s'assurer une derniere fois que tout est en ordre. Nous constatons que les indiens envahissent l'école, il n'est plus possible d'y demeurer. Les larmes aux yeux, nous disons un dernier ADIEU.[374]

An Indian woman who took part in the sit-in said:

> The nuns stayed for a few days and the funniest part was everybody was nice and quiet in the main gym and the nuns were upstairs. They took off unexpectedly around 2 or 3 a.m. because everybody felt tired and fell asleep. They took off during the night. But they didn't let that priest go. There was always a guard by the priest's bedroom. I don't really know what happened but I think they finally let him go. There was one old brother (Ignace Dorobialla) there who'd stayed with us for so many years. He was just crying, he didn't want to go. He wanted to stay with the Indian people, and it was just a pity he was crying and kept saying, "No stay, no stay."

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[373] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Inventory, Blue Quills Students Residence, vol. 1, file 779/12-1-5-009, 19 May 1970.

[374] Grey Nun Archives, Residence des Soeurs Grises, C. P. 1167, St. Paul, Alta. Chroniques, 20 July 1970.

Newspaper Views

The St. Paul Journal gave complete coverage of the sit-in, including pictures of the tents erected in front of the school, and of the preparation of food for the nearly 300 people coming and going from the school. The newspaper editorialized that when the school was first opened in 1931, Indian Affairs had difficulty convincing parents to send their children to the school. It said:

> It is only fair that the parents do have some jurisdiction on educational matters concerning their children. Although much of the blame has been laid locally, correction of many of the discrepancies must be made at the federal and provincial level, and not with the local school boards who are also governed and financed through policies set by senior governments.[375]

The Edmonton Journal also carried a front page picture of the sit-in, commenting "study sessions and strategy meetings help pass the time at Blue Quills while more than 100 Indians await a visit from federal Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chretien."[376]

Further Negotiation

The Minister of Indian Affairs sent a telegram to Harold Cardinal on July 22nd saying that the provision of education by provincial authorities for Indian children appeared to offer the best hope for meeting the education needs of Indian people. Because the education framework advocated by the Indian Association had yet to be established, the Minister said that he would be remiss in his responsibility if he acceded to their request.[377] Cardinal charged that the Minister had been "misinformed" or was "deliberately misinterpreting issues" because the Indian position was that Blue Quills be transferred to Indian administration and supervision while remaining under federal jurisdiction and financial responsibility. Cardinal said this was in keeping with the government policy since similar arrangements existed between the government and religious denominations. He went on to say:

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[375] St. Paul Journal, 22 July 1970.
[376] Edmonton Journal, 22 July 1970.

> The situation at Blue Quills School is serious and not a matter for political maneuvering on the part of anybody. In view of your lack of response and, indeed, misinterpretation of these people's legitimate aspirations, we cannot in good faith council moderation on their part. Our association and our leadership request your co-operation and should it not be forthcoming, we cannot and will not accept responsibility for any eventualities.[378]

On 27 July 1970 a meeting was held at the school between department officials, including the Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs and his assistant, and members of the native community, including district chiefs, school committee members, representatives from the Voice of Alberta Native Women's Society, the Alberta Metis Association, the Indian Association of Alberta, and the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians. At the beginning of the meeting a box a grapes, bearing a union label as a symbol of support sent by Cesar Chavez and his California farm workers was presented. The telegram accompanying the grapes read:

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[377] Indian Association of Alberta, T.A.R.R., Blue Quills, 22 July 1970.
[378] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, School Buildings, Blue Quills Students Residence, vol. 11. file 779/6-1-009, 22 July 1970.

> Dear Brothers and Sisters, we have learned of your brave struggle for self determination. On behalf of the members of the Farm Workers Organizing Committee I want to express our solidarity with you in your struggle and our hopes for your success. Keep your spirit and your unity. They're your most important and effective weapons. We are glad to share with you the recent successes and progress of our own struggle. It has been a long fight but victory will soon be ours as it will be yours. Viva La Causa.[379]

At the meeting members of the native community spoke of their desire to become involved in their children's education while at the same time safeguarding their treaty rights. The Deputy Minister spoke of the two basic principles held by the department--that Indian children should receive the best education possible and that parents should be involved in their children's education.

Harold Cardinal demanded a specific "yes" or "no" answer to his question, "Is your Department prepared in all negotiations with this group to base its assumptions on the discussions that it is a fundamental right of parents to exercise control for their children's education and that the people here are competent to carry out that function?"[380] Although the Deputy Minister's "yes with Qualifications" response was not approved by the native group, his suggestion that a delegation come to Ottawa to meet with the Minister, was.

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[379] Indian Association of Alberta, T.A.R.R., Blue Quills, 27 July 1970.
[380] Ibid.

Meeting in Ottawa

The meeting in Ottawa was agreed to on the following terms; that (1) 12 Board members of the Blue Quills Native Education Council and 8 consultants; (2) meet with the Minister and his assistants until a mutual agreement was reached, and that the government agree that; (3) Indian parents had a right to control their children's education, and; (4) the topic discussed would be their Brief and not the White Paper. The Brief had four parts.[381] The first part, the preamble, discussed the school situation in the Saddle Lake-Athabasca District which gave rise to the sit-in. Parental dissatisfaction with school results, the White Paper, department plans to turn the school into a hostel, and subsequent school committee meetings with Indian Affairs representatives were reviewed. The preamble stated, "Our greatest desire is that our chilren progress in the white man's education, while continuing to retain their dignity and self-respect as Indian people."[382]

The second part of the Brief was the constitution of the new Blue Quills Native Education Council, and it outlined the duties and powers of the Board of Directors and Executive as well as the exercise of monetary powers. Board members were to be treaty Indian people from the Saddle Lake-Athabasca District. The Board of Directors and Executive of the Council would determine the school curriculum, hire and supervise its staff, and establish general policy. They would also administer the school's operating grant and authorize auditing of the accounts.

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[381] Indian Association of Alberta, T.A.R.R., Blue Quills Administrative Take-Over, "Blue Quills Native Education Council," 27 July 1970.

[382] Ibid.

The third part, program development, was concerned with classroom instruction and enrolment, the residential program and enrolment, liaison with federal and provincial agencies, and consultation and guidance services. The school would follow the basic curriculum prescribed for Alberta schools, and a special component related to Indian needs would be developed. Both in the classroom and in the residence native people would receive priority in hiring, and the use of native languages would be encouraged.

The fourth part of the Brief dealt with personnel. It said, "All staff must have some previous experience with Indian people, and understand Indian life."[383] The organizational chart reflected the substantive change the Brief proposed. Whereas previous pyramidal charts for the school had the principal or administrator at the apex, the new one had parents, students, chiefs, and councillors at the head.

Although the native community wanted the Brief to form the agenda in discussions with the Minister in Ottawa, the Deputy Minister would not make that commitment. However, the Minister did telegram the President of the Indian Association of Alberta "the time has come for us to sit down together ...I would like also to arrange for you and school representatives to consider with me and my officials all the many practical aspects of your proposal regarding Blue Quills School."[384]

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[383] Ibid.

Negotiation Results

The result of the meetings in Ottawa between delegates from the Blue Quills Native Education Council and representatives from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development was that the Minister agreed to the preparation of agreements covering the transfer of the operation of the residence and classrooms of the school to the Council. The target date for the implementation of the agreements was 1 January 1971 for the residence and 1 July 1971 for the school. The administration of the residence and school were to be supported financially by the department. The Minister viewed this transfer as a unique project, and more of a special case than a total change in department policy. A newspaper pointed out however, "what could be learned from an Indian school controlled by the Indian people themselves would be valuable in helping to determine what future policy should be."[385]

The St. Paul Journal reprinted an editorial published in the Indian newspaper "Native People" which said the Blue Quills sit-in had shown Indians were capable of handling their own affairs. It went on to say:

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[384] Ibid.

[385] Edmonton Journal, 4 August 1970.

> The Federal government has wasted and misspent thousands of dollars on boarding schools. Renovations and additions have been done in a high-handed bureaucratic manner with little thought to the money. For example, at St. Paul's school on the Blood reserve, the farm electrical system was completely rewired. A year later the farm closed down, and when it was rewired the government knew it would be closed a year later. With misspending like that who needs Indian Affairs controlling Indian education? The control of education must lie in the hands of the people.[386]

By 5 August 1970 the sit-in at the Blue Quills School was over, and the agreement providing for native management was being finalized.

H. THE OUTCOME

Indian Take-Over of the School

Although the date for Indians to assume administrative control was 1 January 1971, Indians assumed *de facto* control immediately. The department scheduled a Trustee Training Seminar for the end of August 1970, to be presented by the Alberta School Trustee's Association and designed to acquaint the Education Council members with the traditional duties of school trustees. According to the department's Regional Superintendent of Schools, the course was a fiasco "and proved to be too technical and not what the Indian people wanted."[387] The Indian Association of Alberta later set up "a down to earth type of training" session for the

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[386] St. Paul *Journal*, 5 August 1970; the editorial "Indian Control of Education" was published earlier in the *Native People* by the Alberta Native Communications Society, Edmonton.

[387] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Admissions and Discharges, Blue Quills Students Residence, vol. 6, file 779/25-2-009, August 1970.

Blue Quills Native Education Council Board of Directors.[388] The Indian Affairs Regional Superintendent of Schools attended part of this training seminar and after discussions with the Council on finances commented "this was probably the most pleasant atmosphere I had encountered with any dealings with the Council to date."[389] Future demands which would be made, he said, would include turning the buildings over to the Council and making the remaining land on which the school was situated a reserve.

On 1 September 1970, Blue Quills became the first school in Canada to be officially opened and administrated by Indians. Those attending the opening ceremonies were told by native speakers that "only now can Indians say that they are equal in the eyes of everyone" and that the "truth about Indian culture as well as the political and social way of life that the white man leads" would finally be taught.[390] Cree was to be part of the curriculum and about half of the total staff was Indian, including the administrator and one teacher. The school was administered by the Blue Quills Native Education Council.

Blue Quills Native Education Council

The philosophy of the Council can be seen in a proposal submitted to the department in September of 1970 for immediate and long-range financial support for the school:

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[388] Indian Association of Alberta, T.A.R.R., Blue Quills, Training Seminar and Administration, 8 September 1970.

[389] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Admissions and Discharges, Blue Quills Students Residence, vol. 6, file 779/25-2-009, 17 September 1970.

[390] St. Paul Journal, 9 September 1970.

> Our school has become a unique entity; it is neither federal, provincial, nor parochial; it is Indian-operated for Indian children. We understand what we have created, but there are government personnel who fail to understand what we now have and what we intend to do. Others must understand that our school will be constantly evolving; this implies administrative and financial flexibility far beyond that acknowledged so far. Our school's program will be the forerunner for others. It will be research-oriented and innovation-minded so as to assist other Indian groups in devising a proper kind of educational system.[391]

The Council went on to say that the department held a different concept of Blue Quills; one which viewed it as just another federal school which should be financed using the same criteria as had been used in financing other Indian and non-Indian schools. Such an outlook by the department, they claimed, would reduce their plans to those of other Indian residential schools, and would produce the same dismal results.

The situation of the Blue Quills School had contributed to the native community's growing mistrust of the department. After a curriculum committee meeting of the Education Council's Board of Directors, a representative from the Indian Association of Alberta said that given the feelings of the Indian people, it was questionable whether or not the present Indian Affairs Branch staff would ever cooperate with them on any basis of trust and carry on any worthwhile programs. He commented, "The deep frustrations and anger of the People in the area are beginning to surface and unless (the) I.A.B. is willing to take action to delve into deep-rooted problems, (which are not confined to the Saddle Lake Area) the promise of turbulent times ahead is not an idle one."[392] During discussions between the Blue Quills Native Education Council and the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development about the administrative take-over agreement, the Indian Association's lawyer informed the department that the Council refused to have the department's local district authorities involved in the school; "...while we realize that the Minister must have some right of inspection, we wish to limit this inspection to people from the Regional Office or from Ottawa. ..."[393] In the final agreement the Council gave the Minister permission to inspect the residence and the accounts (see Appendix C).

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[391] Indian Association of Alberta, T.A.R.R., Blue Quills, Administative Take-Over, September 1970.

The agreement giving the Blue Quills Native Education Council control and administration of the Blue Quills Student Residence was signed 31 December 1970; see Appendix C. Of the official signing of the agreement the local newspaper wrote:

> And so this culminates one phase of our development said Harold Cardinal (President of the Indian Association of Alberta). The success of our sit-in last summer at Blue Quills was due to our persistence in spite of the many obstacles that were placed before us.[394]

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[392] Ibid., 13 October 1970.

[393] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Admissions and Discharges, Blue Quills Students Residence, vol. 6, file 779/25-2-009, 16 November 1970.

[394] St. Paul Journal, 10 February 1971.

The target date set for transferring administrative control to the Council over the school and classrooms was 1 July 1971. Although several drafts of the agreement were discussed, it appears the final agreement was never signed.[395]

An agreement was signed between the department and the Saddle Lake Parish of the Roman Catholic Church providing chaplaincy services to residence students and staff of Blue Quills. The terms of that agreement were that the administrator would make arrangements for scheduling the priest's visits, which were "not to conflict with the requirements of the school or the residence."[396]

The church had been replaced, and its successor was more demanding in dealing with the government. When the Blue Quills Native Education Council presented their resolutions to the department in July of 1971, one year after the sit-in at the school, they said, "How many resolutions have we made and we have been ignored long enough. We dare you to try us any longer."[397] A new era in native education had begun.

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[395] A draft copy of the agreement between the Blue Quills Native Education Council and the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development covering the transfer of administrative control over the Blue Quills School was drawn up in March of 1971. Discussions regarding subsequent changes were proposed throughout the same year. A telephone conversation in August of 1979 with Robert Roddick, lawyer for the Indian Association of Alberta in charge of this negotiation, indicated that he had no signed agreement for administration of the school. He said that both parties involved "were acting on the assumption that the agreement had been finalized."

[396] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, School Establishment, Blue Quills, vol. 1, file 779/1-13-009, December 1970.

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[397] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Indian Private Schools, Blue Quills, vol. 2, file 779/25-1-1, 9 July 1971.

V. ANALYSIS OF A TOTAL INSTITUTION

This analysis seeks to answer two questions from the previous three data chapters. Firstly, how was conflict generated, and secondly, how was this conflict regulated? As a total institution the residential school was a vehicle of social control and conflict management. The two worlds of a total institution--the inmates and the staff, were characterized by differences in power and in mechanisms by which conflict was regulated.

A. BLUE QUILLS IN CONTEXT

In order to understand a residential school, it is necessary to discuss its structure and relationship to the students' home world. This will be accomplished by examining the characteristics of a total institution and the home world of the inmates.

Characteristics of a Total Institution

"A total institution may be defined as a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life."[398] Blue Quills Indian Residential School was a total institution established to better pursue the work-like task of educating Indian children. Its purpose, at various periods in time, was described as civilizing, Christianizing, assimilating, and integrating native people into the larger Canadian society.

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[398] Goffman, p. xiii.

The school can be described by a number of characteristics as a total institution.[399] First, all aspects of life are conducted in the same place and under a single authority. At Blue Quills, all student activity was carried on at the school and under the supervision of church authorities. When students took part in a function outside the school, for example attending recreational activities or high school in St. Paul, they continued to be supervised by church personnel.

Second, in a total institution each member's activity is carried on in the company of others, all of whom are treated alike. At Blue Quills student activity was collective; whether students were bathing, eating, or praying they were with others. Although individual differences and preferences occasionally meant that not all students were treated alike, these instances were few, and on the whole they were treated alike.

In a total institution all phases of the day's activities are tightly scheduled. The daily routine for students during the 1940's was presented in Chapter II. From the moment the children were awakened until the time they went to bed their life was scheduled. Changes in the school over the forty-year period examined in this study reveal that although student life was less scheduled in the 1950's when students attended high school and when the half day work, half day study program was abolished, the students were never in a situation where their activities were unscheduled for a long period of time.

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[399] Ibid., p. 6.

The fourth characteristic of a total institution is that the various activities are brought together into a single plan purportedly designed to fulfill the official aims of the institution. The aim of Blue Quills was to educate Indians. The form this education took looked different from the perspectives of the church and the federal government. Although the church and department were occasionally accused of being administratively expedient, all student activities at the school were explained as facilitating the achievement of the stated goals.

The school as a total institution contained a split between a large managed group, the students, and a small supervisory group, the staff. Goffman refers to these groups as the inmate world and the staff world. "Each grouping tends to conceive of the other in terms of narrow hostile stereotypes, staff often seeing inmates as bitter, secretive, and untrustworthy, while inmates often see staff as condescending, highhanded, and mean."[400] Within this organization, the staff controlled the inmates.

Home World of Inmates

Students came from a home world which was significantly different from the institutional world of the residential school. Tension between the home world and the institutional world was common because the family and its role in childrearing was incompatible with the school and its socializing role. The school was based on obedience to staff, to rules, and to regimentation, while the family emphasized cooperation and affective bonds. This resulted in student loneliness and a feeling that the staff cared little for them. In some cases it increased student hostility towards staff.

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[400] Ibid.

Blue Quills students had contact with four different kinds of adults while they were at the school. First, there were the Oblates and the Grey Nuns. Church personnel included the principal (an Oblate priest), teachers (the senior teacher was a Grey Nun), and staff members (maintenance and children's supervisors). Occasionally church dignitaries, such as the Bishop or the Mother Superior, would visit the school.

A second group of adults were the employees of the Indian Affairs Branch. These department personnel included officials from the three levels of bureaucracy; from the district office based in St. Paul, the regional office in Edmonton, and the headquarters in Ottawa. Student contact with this latter group was usually minimal.

Students also had contact with lay persons employed by the school, including both teachers and secular staff employed as farmers, cooks, seamstresses, and those employed as children's supervisors. On occasions such as the Christmas concert and Education Week, the children had limited contact with non-Indian visitors from St. Paul. They also had contact with them when students were taken to town by their parents.

A fourth group of adults at Blue Quills with whom students had contact was the Indian community, including their parents at home or when they came for an afternoon visit to the school, and the few Indian staff employed at the school. Indian staff either worked in maintenance service or as children's supervisors. During the forty years examined in this study only one Indian teacher was employed at the Blue Quills School.

In a total institution there are important determinants of staff work.[401] Firstly, people are considered to be ends in themselves and technical standards of handling them are used. For example, the admission procedures for Blue Quills students included bathing, delousing, and assigning uniforms and numbers. Secondly, in a total institution inmates have statuses and relationships in the outside world that must be taken into consideration. To illustrate, the student's official religious affiliation, band number, and guardianship were important criteria for determining admission to the school. If these were to change, the inmate's position in the school often changed. For example, when one student's mother married a non-Indian, he was discharged from the school because he had been taken off the band list. Thirdly, if bonds grew between inmates and staff then punishment of an inmate could make a staff member suffer. For example staff would have favorite students to whom they gave more privileges. Those favored were resented by the other students, and occasionally by other staff. In these inmate and staff relations there was an intermittent conflict between humane standards and institutional efficiency.

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[401] Ibid., p. 76.

The home world of the students, then, was very different from the inmate world of the school. Students had very little to do with their parents, and parents had very little to do with the school staff. One student said:

> The thing that bugged me about the French was that they didn't treat our parents with very much respect. And I think they should of. They didn't try to make friends with us. We never had any friendships with them. They probably viewed us as savages. The teachers used to tell us, "You kids are so nice in school, but as soon as you get out of the school you just run wild."

Many staff viewed the students' homes as undoing the work they had done. While they were at school students could be controlled. The home world often worked against the effectiveness of the school. When students were isolated from their families, home influence could be controlled. As integration replaced isolation, parental influence became more apparent.

B. STUDENT AS INMATE

From the moment students entered the residential school to the day they left, they were part of the inmate world. As inmates their life was subject to regulations and judgments by staff. In the dormitory and in the classroom they learned the privilege system which provided a framework for dealing with daily events. As inmates they also found ways to adapt. This section analyzes residential school life as experienced by Indian children.

Admission

Students came to Blue Quills from reserves in northeastern Alberta--Saddle Lake, Frog Lake, Kehewin, Cold Lake, and Whitefish Lake. Since the pupils were required by law to go to school, all Catholic Indian students from this area were expected to attend the school, and until day schools and non-Indian schools were open to native students there was little choice in what school to attend.

There were relative benefits in attending Blue Quills. Because reserves were poor, residential schools were often used by the Indian community to relieve the financial burden of having their children live at home and attend school. One man said:

> The thing I can appreciate now about residential schools is that at the time for Indians there was no welfare, and for bigger families it was hard. They'd have seven kids going to Blue Quills. And they were gone for 10 months of the year so that gave them a chance to work, to start farming. My Mom and Dad used to go out and work for farmers doing labor work, picking roots, cutting brush, and it gave them a chance so they were able to make a living. Otherwise they'd of been strapped with kids at home, and you'd

have to stay home and send your kids to day school.

People who were students at the school and who later sent their own children to the school have commented on the financial benefits resulting from sending their children to Blue Quills. When the government started to implement its policy of phasing out boarding schools, parents were often given social assistance to help them in keeping their children at home rather than at the residential school. If parents were financially unable to have their children home attending day school, welfare would be provided by the government. The Indian Affairs Branch, on the other hand, came to question the practice of relieving parents of their responsibility, financial and otherwise, for feeding, clothing and housing their children by sending them to residential schools.

The application for admission to the school was made by the parent or guardian. In making application the parents agreed that their child "remain therein under the guardianship of the principal for such term as the minister...may deem proper."[402] Although the application form changed, over forty years the information required by the department always included the child's name, birthday, band and number, parent or guardian's name and religion, and the child's religion. Each form contained the parent or guardian's name or "X", a witness who certified that the applicant understood the application, and the various people consulted with respect to the application (such as the principal, social worker, Indian agent, band chief, etc.).

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[402] Public Archives of Canada, R. G. 10, Vol. 6347, file 751-10, part 2, form no. 1-A 406.

The application for admission had to be approved by the department before the student could become a grant-earning pupil, but the church played an important role in determining who could make application. By missionary work on the reserves and during the principal's recruitment campaign (where he was often assisted by the Indian agent), the church often controlled the situation by admitting students upon the family's request or in spite of the family's wishes. In cases where parents were reluctant to sign the application, the priest would sign for them.

It has been noted that often residential schools have served as homes for orphaned children. It was found that at Blue Quills during the period 1933 to 1953, few orphans were admitted, however. Eighty-three percent of the students had both parents living, 15 per cent had one parent deceased, and only 2 per cent had both parents deceased.

Reasons stated on the application form when applying for admission included poor living conditions and parental neglect. Occasionally children were admitted because they "needed the discipline," and by the mid 1960's the boarding school was used as a correctional institution because of the department's attempts to change the role of such schools.

Learning Obedience

When students entered the residential school they underwent admission procedures designed to disposses them of their previous roles and isolate them from their home world. Children were either brought to the school by their family, or more often "rounded up" by a priest and transported to the school in the back of a truck with other children. Upon entering the residence, the child's clothes were removed and after being bathed and deloused he or she was issued a set of school clothing. After acquiring a uniform which was the same as that worn by others of the same sex and size, the child was given a number. All her/his clothing, towels and eating utensils were marked with the number. Initially, students had no "identity kit", such as cosmetics, combs, or personal clothing. "Failure to provide inmates with individual lockers and periodic searches and confiscations of accumulated personal property reinforce property dispossession."[403] Dispossession was also accomplished by reading all students' incoming and outgoing mail.

This process of role dispossession was the purpose of staff insistence that students hold their body in a particular attitude, sit at their desks, not look at each other, line up to eat, etc. For example, when they were being reprimanded students were not to look directly at the disapproving staff member. Deference was also required in verbal behavior. Students were required to address the church staff by title, either "Sister," or "Father;" lay staff were addressed as "Mrs. Pigeon," or "Miss Collins," and the boys' disciplinarian was called "Sir."

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[403] Goffman, p. 19.

Students were segregated by sex in the residence. This was done for two reasons. First, the staff could control students more effectively when they were separated. When the student enrolment was low during the early days, students were segregated into one group of boys and one of girls. Later each group was divided into big students and little students. When some pupils started attending high school, a third division for high school students was established. As a student advanced through these divisions, the privileges given to them by the staff increased.

The second reason students were segregated by sex was the concern of staff about student morality. The Catholic Church had traditionally viewed all co-education as harmful to a Christian education. In the 1930's Blue Quills segregation by sex was complete. Students were with their own sex in the classroom, the dormitory, the playground, and the chapel. In the 1940's male and female students began to take classes together, although they sat on different sides of the room. By the late 1950's boys and girls could occasionally share playground facilities, although separation in the chapel and dormitory continued through the 1960's. Most recently there was mixed dancing and mixed ice skating.

In a total institution, learning to accept regulations unthinkingly is part of an inmate's experience. An example of such regulation at Blue Quills was the timetable presented in Chapter II. All student activity was subjected to the timetable and to staff regulation. Examples are rules calling for silence when eating, the making of beds a certain way, the way clothes were to be worn, and the manner in which requests for toilet paper were made. One man recalled:

> After dinner everybody would line up to go to the bathroom. You couldn't go to the bathroom in the meantime. You darn well had to piss yourself. You learned to hold it. You trained yourself to go to the bathroom certain times of the day. You went after breakfast; you'd line up and the nun was there with the sheets of paper. She'd sit in front of the door and hand out six of them.

Learning obedience is compounded by regimentation where the student performs activities with a block of other inmates; for example working with others in the kitchen, or taking communal showers. It is also compounded by "an authority system of the echelon kind."[404] This means that any member of the staff class has the right to discipline any member of the inmate class. Even in the "charge" system where an older child looked after a younger one, staff authority remained final.

The Privilege System

Entering the residential school students were dispossessed of their former roles and cut off from their home world. The privilege system provided a framework for reorganizing inmates. This privilege system consisted of house rules, rewards, and punishments which were formulated and implemented by the staff. The house rules were those regulations specifying the main requirements for student behavior--timetable and obedience to staff authority. Rewards were given in exchange for student obedience to staff. Extra or special food, religious medals, and preferred jobs were some of the rewards inmates could anticipate for complying with the system. Punishments were the consequences of breaking the house rules. Throughout Blue Quills' forty year existance punishment included beatings, denial of food, additional work in the residence and classroom, and withholding recreational privileges. "In general, the punishments meted out in total institutions are more severe than anything encountered by the inmate in his home world."[405]

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[404] Ibid., p. 42.

Goffman states that punishments and privileges are themselves modes of organization unique to total institutions. Release from the institution is part of the privilege system, and punishments and privileges become geared into a residential work system. Working in the kitchen to get more food is an example of privileged work. To work in some areas was punishment, for example the scullery or "potato corner" was punishment.

Associated with the privilege system are processes important to inmate life in a total institution. This includes institutional lingo, such as "the scullery," "the refectory," and "doing penance." There is also "messing up," which is engaging in forbidden activity, getting caught, and being punished. One woman said, "If you were caught whispering or talking (at meals) they would put you in the middle of the dining room, and you were shamed." Another process in the privilege system of a total institution is "knowing the ropes." This includes knowing which students are "stoolies" and not to be trusted, which students have access to more disposable goods (such as money for the canteen), and which students may form gangs or cliques.

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[405] Ibid., pp. 50-51.

The privilege system is the way in which students learned how to live in a total institution. Since every aspect of the privilege system placed the inmate against the staff member, it was a system in which conflict was inherent.

The Classroom

Aspects of a total institution are also evident in the Blue Quills classroom. Not only did the relationship between students and staff as discussed above have a direct effect on the classroom, the organization of instruction in the school gave further support for the larger institutional aspects of the residential school.

Blue Quills was established originally as a boarding school with an industrial program. The strategy was that the four r's (reading, writing, arithmetic, and religion) would be supplemented by vocational instruction. This was the half day work, half day study program. The girls were to learn how to knit, sew, cook, and keep house and the boys were to learn animal husbandry and other farming skills.

The half day program was divided between conflicting vocational instruction needs and institutional efficiency. Because the government per capita grant was too small to finance the school's operation, student labor was essential. Student work in the barn and the kitchen contributed to the survival of the school. However, the nature of this work and the circumstances in which it was carried out minimized vocational learning. For the girls, learning to prepare institutional food was unrelated to preparing food later in life in their homes on the reserve. For the boys, little time was given to explanation of agricultural techniques and basic animal care used in the school fields and barns. Because of the physical demands on the children of the half day of work, the half day of study was often less productive than it might otherwise have been.

The benefits of the half day of study were further reduced by the poor qualifications of the teachers. While the half day program was in operation (until the early 1950's), the teachers were nuns who had no formal training and limited schooling themselves. When the half day program was replaced by a full day of study, more lay teachers with more teaching qualifications began to be hired. For example, in 1952 only one teacher in five was a lay person; by 1967 six teachers in seven were. (see Table III).

The Alberta curriculum was used in the classroom. Provincial textbook lists provided by the provincial Department of Education were sent by the Indian Affairs Branch to the school principal. He would then make text selections from these lists in consultation with the senior teacher. As in other Catholic schools, religion was both incorporated into the general curriculum and taught as a separate subject. Beginning in the 1960's the curriculum included some vocational subjects such as typing and manual arts.

The student composition of the classroom changed through time and especially after the Second World War. This altered the institutional form of Blue Quills, and the government policy of integration resulted in more Indian students attending public schools. At Blue Quills, the high school students were the first to experience integration. At first, the school offered only grades one to eight. Then, in the late 1940's a few students stayed at the school and studied high school subjects by correspondence. By the early 1950's students had begun to attend grades nine to twelve in St. Paul. In 1952 eight high school students were boarding at the school and attending classes in town; by 1965 this number had increased to 27.

Another change reflected in the classroom was the increase in the number of day students. Day students lived on the reserve and were bussed to Blue Quills each day. The department's plan to reduce the boarding school aspect of the school is reflected in the dramatic increase in the number of day students. In 1957 there were 5 day students; in 1969 this number had become 61 (see Table V). Among them the relative number of male and female day students was reversed from that found for integated high school students. Whereas in high school the girls outnumbered the boys, among the day students there were more boys than girls. The exception to this is the year 1966, when there were 30 boys and 40 girls attending Blue Quills as day students. In 1965 there had been only 4 male and 3 female day students.

What caused this ten-fold increase of day students in one year? During the 1965 school year a few students and their parents accused the principal of misconduct with the female students. During the summer of 1966 the Indian Affairs Branch investigated these complaints and then asked the principal to leave.[406] This increased the number of female day students, because day students had significantly less contact with the principal than did the residential students. This episode is one of the few public examples of violation of the rules of staff/inmate boundaries.

Adaptation by Acquiesence

Inmates in a total institution may adapt to their situation in a variety of ways. Goffman writes:

> In most total institutions, most inmates take the tack of what some of them call "playing it cool." This involves a somewhat opportunistic combination of secondary adjustments, conversion, colonization, and loyalty to the inmate group, so that the inmate will have a maximum chance, in the particular circumstances, of eventually getting out physically and psychologically undamaged.[407]

One major way in which Blue Quills students adapted was by acquiesence or acceptance. Adaptation by acquiesence or acceptance was manifested in a variety of ways. For Indian students the range of responses could go from enthusiastic cooperation with the school's staff and the school's goals to simply going through the motions in obedience to institutional demands. The range of responses is as complex as the situations in which the responses occurred, and the reasons as varied as the individuals expressing them. By examining several of the areas of residential life in which acquiesence appeared, the ways of conflict regulation can be better understood. Analyzing acquiesence does not imply an absence of resistance. Acquiesence and resistance are two sides of the same coin, and as such are both present simultaneously.

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[406] Newman, p. 86.
[407] Goffman, pp. 64-65.

The work component of the residential school program, particularly as found in the half day system, was an area of acquiesence. Until the early 1950's the girls spent half a day in the kitchen and sewing room while the boys worked on the school farm. For the girls learning to cook and sew were skills they might use after leaving the school, whether to return to the reserve or to seek employment in the larger society. One woman described the advantages of the work program as:

> It used to be a place where you would learn things like sewing and different courses. You learned everything. It was kind of hard for me to decide what to do. I wanted to be a seamstress and I wanted to be a cook. I had everything in my head which I could do and make a living with. I really think the kids today should have had that knowledge. It was hard but you made something out of yourself.

While the girls learned domestic skills the boys worked with the farm animals. Since the school farm was designed to support Blue Quills, it was a mixed farming operation where some boys learned how to look after and butcher animals, plant crops and gardens, and care for machinery. One man who attended the school during the 1930's said of his experience:

> We weren't getting an education like they are today. It was just get the savage out of the Indian. But it done some good. We learned a lot of agriculture mostly. I think one good thing is that it trained them for agriculture and some are really successful farmers.

Some students perceived the work experience of the residential school as beneficial in preparing them for adult life. Some students were converted, as evidenced by this woman's emphasis on work, humility, and responsibility.

> Come to think of it I have no regrets that I did what I was taught, forced to learn how to make clothes. If I hadn't of learned that my kids would have suffered. And the sense of responsibility. They were very strict there. We were very humble. I think that's our problem these days. The sense of responsibility is not stressed enough. If I hadn't of learned that strict life of obedience there would have been times when I'd of made my family suffer.

Most of those students who acquiesced to the institutional work demands now see the benefits of their action, and so some of the acceptance may be explained as recalling "the good old days." The hard work and servility required by the school staff was seen as beneficial more often by women than by men who attended the school. It may be that women were more able to utilize the work skills acquired in residential school than men. Or it may be that women, being less powerful in the Indian community, were more likely to accept institutional requirements and view them as beneficial.

Students often saw the school as a place where they could study and learn. One woman said:

> The best part of Blue Quills was the academic. I never could of gone to school being at home. My Dad was an alcoholic then and my Mother was having kids, after me there's twelve. So I probably would have got married at 14 or 15 if I wasn't at Blue Quills.

For such students the residential school provided an opportunity for study that their home could not. At Blue Quills the day was structured so that time to study was provided and often compulsory. Students who were deemed capable and interested by the staff were encouraged them to go on to high school and to continue the study habits the school had instilled.

> The good things were that they made you study, and they made you study hard. And you passed your grades. You learned how to study, and that was helpful to me later on when I went to university. You got into a habit of studying every night, and when I left Blue Quills I still studied every night.

Others accepted the school not because of the opportunity to work or study, but because they enjoyed the extra curricular activities. For some students the sports--basketball, hockey, and softball were remembered as being an advantage of school life. Sports were one of the institutional ceremonies of the school which brought the students and staff closer together. For the boys, being a member of the Sea and Navy League Cadets and the Brass Band and participating in drills and parades added an excitement to their lives. Not only was wearing a uniform and learning martial music enjoyed by the students, but the opportunity to spend summer holidays in cadet camp in another province made such groups very popular.

In addition to participation in the sports and cadet program, students also looked forward to the Christmas concert, another institutional ceremony which linked students and staff to the larger society. This annual event was one of the few occasions when parents and visitors from town would come to the school. Months before the concert students would start to make costumes and build sets for the performance, and numerous rehersals preceded the dress rehersal. Often three performances of the concert were given: one for the school staff, the second for guests from St. Paul, and the third for Indian visitors. It is not unusual for former students to remember the names of major productions and the parts they played in it.

Another aspect of residential school life that contributed to students' acquiesence was the presence of schoolmates. The sharing of experiences strengthened the ties between them, and provided a comradeship which increased the cohesiveness of the inmate group.

Just as the presence of other students contributed to student acquiesence, so did individuals among the staff. Students often formed warm attachments to particular staff members. If some students formed bonds with certain teachers because they shared their homes, others were grateful to the staff for their religious contributions. A man recalled:

> When I think about my religous background I think we were very fortunate to have the Grey Nuns and the Oblates looking after us, both spiritually and academically. I think they were tremendous teachers. I don't think I'd be where I am today, or learned what I did, if I didn't have that experience. I was very fortunate.

Many students accepted the residential school because it was preferable to living on the reserve and attending day school. One student said she didn't want to go to the day school because, "We were so poor I wouldn't have been able to take a nice lunch to school, just probably rabbit and bannock." And for students with alcoholic parents the school provided a stability their parents could not.

When comparing life in Blue Quills with that of the reserve, the school was often considered less work.

> I think the biggest advantage about Blue Quills was that I didn't have to baby sit. I'd spend the whole summer at home looking after kids. Not only that, I think comparing the meals it was all right. You didn't get the best of meals, but sometimes it was better than what you could get at home. I remember some kids saying "I wish I was home cause we'd have this and that." And you knew damn well they didn't have anything.

There were many disadvantages to life on the reserve, such as illness, alcoholism, parental neglect, and poverty. One student remembered attending the day school for one year and having to wash her only dress when she returned home each day after school. On the reserve water had to be hauled and clothes washed by hand; at Blue Quills there was hot running water and there were washing machines. Some students saw the school contributing to higher academic achievement;

one student said "When Blue Quills students went into the provincial system they had higher marks probably because of the comfort they had at the school."

Some students accepted the demands of the residential school because they too held the values which were emphasized at school such as obedience to authority, discipline, and etiquette. Goffman refers to this as conversion,[408] where an inmate takes over the staff view and acts like the perfect inmate. Some have said that attending Blue Quills made them disciplined members of an "elite" which was better prepared academically. One woman said:

> I think that discipline gave you the determination to carry on in life after. Like now when you look at our younger people they don't know how to cook or look after a house or anything. And it seems like when problems come up they don't know what to do with themselves.

For a multitude of reasons, many students acquiesced to the demands of residential school environment and benefited from it. A former student said ironically, "In a funny sort of way I think I learned a lot--I can teach my children what I don't want them to be like."

Adaptation by Resistance

Resistance was another major form in inmate adaptation. Students' resistance could take a variety of forms, from running away from the school to hoping to return to the reserve and negating whatever the residential school had tried to accomplish.

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[408] Ibid., p. 63.

Students often resisted the school because their parents were against the institution. Shortly after the Blue Quills Indian Residential School opened in 1931, parents protested to the Indian Affairs Branch about the treatment their children were receiving at the school. They accused the principal of beating two girls with a rawhide strap and locking them in an outdoor toilet during the cold winter weather. They also charged that the nuns were punishing girls when they were menstruating. Because the school officials denied these accusations, several parents subsequently ignored the department order to return their children to school.[409]

A few years later Chief Moses and the Councillors of Saddle Lake Band Council wrote the department asking for the dismissal of the boys' disciplinarian. They gave details of two cases of abuse. They charged the disciplinarian had hit a young boy in the face, and rubbed another small boy's face in feces when the child lost bowel control. The department investigated the complaints and replied that they had been exaggerated. The continued abuse of children by this disciplinarian resulted in the parents' refusal to return their children to the school while the individual was still employed there.[410] He was dismissed when the parents' withheld their children from school.

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[409] Grey Nun Archives, Chroniques de Blue Quills Residential School, 1 May 1932.

[410] Provincial Archives of Alberta, Oblate Accession 71.220, fol. 57, B-VIII-340, 29 April 1939.

Some parents resisted because while their children were in boarding school they were denied access to them. One former student said:

> I think residential schools caused a lot of mental anguish between parents and children. It developed to the state where there was a breakdown in the relationship. Education was a colonization of Indian people.

Because they had little contact with their parents, students often didn't know them. One woman said, "I was kind of resentful to my parents for a long time. I thought they didn't care enough for me to take care of me or themselves."

Parental resistance could occur at recruitment time when either the Indian agent or the priest came to "round up" the students. Parents could either be away from their home or refuse to send their children. This could, however, result in the department withholding relief if they refused to cooperate.

Student resistance can be illustrated by three boys' attempt to burn down the school. The fire was discovered before it could do serious damage, but the boys' request to be transferred to another school was denied. A similar example was when a twelve year old girl set fire to the clothes in the girls' coat-room.[411]

The pupils' most common form of resistance was running away from the school. Students risked both danger and abuse by running away. Children who ran away from school were invariably returned and punished. Although the punishment was often the child's reason for "deserting" in the first place, punishment was always meted out when the students were returned. After the mid 1950's students ran away less frequently, and when they did their punishment was mild. Some high school students were allowed to go home for the weekend, and as long as an effort was made to return they were not punished. That is not to say that students were never beaten, but the punishments were less harsh and less frequent in later years of the school's operation.

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[411] Public Archives of Canada, R. G. 10, Vol. 6346, file 751-5, part 4, 22 November 1932.

Many perceived the school's regulations to be an obstacle to be worked around. One man said, "The worst thing I guess was the rules and regulations, things that when you look at them now you condemn them." Students' routine left little unstructured free time.

Having one's life routinized meant that students were denied making their own decisions. This made students more dependent on the staff, and sometimes resentful. One former student said:

> For me, I think the worst thing was having someone else make all the decisions for you. Because now and then I have flashbacks and think I wish I had someone to think for me, to make the decisions for me. Decision making was something that was taken away from us.

For example, although the school operated a canteen where candy could be purchased, what little money given to individual students by their parents or money they earned as prizes or rewards was not controlled by them. It was put in an account and the amounts each student could spend were controlled by the staff. Because necessities, too, were supplied and managed by the school, the students had little opportunity to learn skills which would assist them to become independent. One student recalled:

> We were never allowed to handle any money. When I left school I had a real hard time. A lot of people don't know how to budget money. The school took care of everything--you didn't even know the price of toothpaste. So you were really screwed up in terms of financial management.

Some students resisted the residential school because they felt it didn't prepare them for anything in later life. One said: "Our life ended there. Whatever you did after that didn't matter to them. That was it." As one said, "I'll never forget that school. I didn't hate it because I got a lot of good out of it. The only thing I hated was the academic part, the teaching part." But more often, the comment about the school was:

> I think a lot of the stuff we took at school didn't prepare us for anything. We learned how to do one job, but that was about it. We never learned how to keep a house, or even know how to boil potatoes. The staff did that. They probably wanted us to have a well-rounded Christian education, but it just didn't work.

One way students might resist was through absenteeism. At Blue Quills residential students were sufficiently controlled by the staff to make absenteeism difficult. However, once day students started attending the school absenteeism became a frequent form of resistance. For example, during the school year 1965-1966 the percentage of residential students absent was 2.9; for day students this reached 11 per cent.

Separation of the students into carefully monitored groups based on sex could also lead to resistance. Segregation by sex was a rule of residential life which was strictly enforced. Students spent considerable energy devising ways to break down the sexual barricade: passing notes, using walkie-talkies, and finding secluded areas in the building where they could meet. When some boys started to sneak in the girls' dormitory at night they were discovered and expelled from the school.

If some students defied the sexual segregation, many more resisted what they perceived to be the intended destruction of their Indian way of life.

> What they were trying to do, I really believe, is to make something of us that we weren't really. 'Cause they taught us all the things that were pertaining to white culture, without any input of our culture at all. What I mean to say is that they eliminated our culture altogether, as far as the spoken language was concerned, and as far as any part of the cultural things that we learned to value as children in the summer. That was eliminated altogether, silently.

Perhaps the ultimate form of resistance occurred when the individual students would experience all that the residential school had to offer, indeed would acquiesce to it, and then return home to become an active member of reserve life. This is not to say that the person was unchanged. Five or more years at Blue Quills inevitably resulted in change. However, no student who attended the school over the forty year period examined in this study lost the use of their native language, and some learned how to read, write, and even speak Cree and Chipewyan. This is a significant point for a popular assumption about residential schools is that they destroyed native language use. Not only did the organization of Blue Quills not destroy Indian language use, in some cases it strengthened it. Native language use was strengthened by its use in catechism and chapel, and by priests coming to study Cree at the school.

When inmates are released from a total institution, several things occur.[412] Their social position is changed. For most who attended Blue Quills, this was the end of their career as student. There were also different types of discharge. Some inmates were rewarded with an "honorable discharge" which usually meant they were sixteen years old and had seldom misbehaved during their time spent at the school. Others were discharged to attend day school on the reserve, or more likely because they were needed at home. Goffman states that when inmates are discharged they experience "disculturation," which is "the loss or failure to acquire some of the habits currently required in the wider society."[413] As expressed by a former inmate:

> I wasn't aware of the outside world at Blue Quills. The Catholic church has an icon philosophy--pictures, statues, everything. Nationalism was built into the school. We didn't know what was going on in the world. In fact I had no inkling of what to do when I left school. I couldn't hold a telephone to carry on a conversation.

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[412] Goffman, p. 70.
[413] Ibid., p. 73.

C. STAFF MECHANISMS OF SOCIAL CONTROL

The organization of Blue Quills Indian Residential School generated and regulated conflict for the students, who as inmates were in a subordinate position. A total institution also provides means for those in the dominant position, staff, to regulate conflict through social control. The staff world is characterized by constant conflict between humane standards and institutional efficiency. Goffman claims that staff evolve a theory of human nature which assists them in translating inmate behavior into terms which meet the institution's stated goals.[414]

Four types of social control by educators of the Indian Affairs Branch and the church have been identified for this analysis: insulation, sanction, persuasion, and conflict absorption. Each will be discussed in terms of the data presented in the three previous chapters.

Insulation

Insulation is the process by which the department and the church ensured that members of the Indian community had less access to authority and to positions which involved control of resources than they. One writer refers to this as insulation, or "keeping a particular group from 'power positions'."[415] The process by which insulation occurs is often isolation; hence these two terms are used interchangeably.

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[414] Ibid., p. 87.
[415] Frideres, p. 188.

As the title of Chapter II indicates, until the end of the Second World War it was the policy of the government to civilize the Indian community by isolation. The reserve was to be a social laboratory in which the Indian would reach a state of development which was comparable to the larger society.

In the Blue Quills Residential School this isolation from the outside community was built into the physical plant. The school was 5 km. from the town of St. Paul and 26 km. from the closest reserve, Saddle Lake. This distance was far enough to discourage some of the children from leaving the school on foot. It was also far enough from the reserve to limit the number of visits parents could make by horse and wagon. One pupil said, "We didn't have any chance to interact with other people. It was an institution with a big wire fence around it, literally." Just as students were isolated from the outside community, the Indian community as a whole was isolated. For example, success in agriculture was made more difficult by department regulations requiring a reserve farmer to obtain a permit from the Indian agent to sell grain. Even the 1951 Indian Act, extended autonomy to band councils to raise money, lease reserve lands, and administer band funds only when the bands "were felt to have reached a sufficiently advanced stage of development."[416] The department decided on band readiness in such matters. The department regulation for discharge of students when they reached sixteen years or completed grade eight meant that few students graduated from high school. With few students finishing school, the likelihood of post-secondary training was slim. Few would understand the Indian Act, yet alone question it effectively. Government regulations such as these contributed to isolation of the Indian community from other Indian and non-Indian communities.

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[416] Hawthorn, p. 26.

The organization of the half day program at school also acted as a mechanism of social control. By limiting the Blue Quills students' study time to half that given non-Indian students elsewhere, the department and the church assured that few students could advance to higher studies.

An example of the church's attempts to insulate Blue Quills students was through control of high school attendance. In the 1950's the church encouraged students to attend high school if they were few in number (see Table II) and if they boarded at the residential school while taking high school courses in St. Paul. The church's goal was to control the Indian students in their religious affiliation in order to have high school facilities a part of the residential school program in the future, and to control who reached the grade 12 level.

The department, on the other hand, wanted to build a high school for Indian students close to a large city. As was discussed in Chapter III, the aim of the department's proposed high school was two-fold: it was a method of integrating students into existing public or Catholic schools, and a step towards lessening church control of Indian education. The church protested that the students were not ready to be placed in a high school that was not church controlled.[417] The isolation of Indian students was both a primary and a secondary outcome of the Blue Quills situation.

When Blue Quills students attended the integrated high school, they were isolated from the other students. Their common institutional clothing set them apart, as did church imposed rules discouraging them from socializing with the classmates after school. As one student said, "We were a group apart anyway. We couldn't make any friends in the school, and we couldn't go to their homes after school." It was doubtful if many non-Indian parents in St. Paul would have welcomed Blue Quills students into their homes in any event, although the church administrator's policies did not encourage Indian students to be close to the larger community.

The school activities encouraged by the department and the church did not increase the Indian students' understanding of the larger society nor did it improve their position in it. Individual students' relationships to other Indian schools were restricted to exchanging school newspapers. With nearby non-Indian schools, the student exchanges were for hockey and soft-ball games. As students the Indian pupils' relationship to St. Paul was limited to contact with visitors who attended an open house or when the students went to town to visit a local industry. Such contact was seldom more than a superficial acquaintance with the world outside the residential school, and therefore was not a relationship _per se_. Some of the students had non-school contacts during the summer, such as working in St. Paul or attending cadet camp, but most pupils spent their short vacations on their reserves.

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[417] Indian Association of Alberta, T.A.R.R., 9.E., 26 February 1959.

Insulation as a mechanism of social control is especially evident in the students' relationship to their family and community. In 1948 for the first time the pupils were allowed to spend Christmas holidays at home with their parents rather than at the school with the staff. By the mid 1950's students were going home for Easter holidays too. Ten months out of the year students were removed from their natal community. During these months only few parents were able to visit their children more often than two or three times a year. The school staff did not encourage the students to understand or respect their families, and staff tended to view parental attempts to influence their children as negative. It was not unusual for former students to speak of growing up not knowing their parents. The church and the department were in the paradoxical position of claiming to represent the Indian parents while at the same time attempting to minimize parental influence and to counter the Indian community's wishes.

For many years this insulation was an effective mechanism of control. As this insulation became less pronounced during the 1960's, control lessened and the potential for conflict increased. Insulation, however, was only one mechanism of social control; the use of sanctions was another.

Sanction

Sanction here refers to the use of rewards and punishments. This is part of the privilege system characteristic of inmate life in a total institution, although sanctions were used on parents and on the reserve as a whole.

Rewards were employed by the church as a mechanism of social control in relation to religious activities. Students were encouraged to join groups such as the Missionary Association of Mary Immaculate. As one student said, "We were the elite of Blue Quills since not everyone could go. If your marks were high enough, and if you were a good girl, then you became a member of one of those groups." Rewards attached to religious group membership were medallions and pictures and the privilege to attend special bingo parties and picnics. Thus group membership served to reward academic success and was itself rewarded.

Not participating in the religious activities of the school could result in negative sanctions. Students who failed to attend mass were given extra chores, and misbehavior during religious celebrations could result in being confined to a room. Students also "did penance," which consisted of special prayers or acts required by the priest when children confessed to improper thoughts or behavior. Religious activity served to sanction school life and participation in religious activity was itself enforced by sanctions.

Sanctions were also part of school chores. Chores could rotate every few weeks, although not all students participated equally in the work. One woman said:

> The favorites would get the jammy jobs, like the chapel and the main floor and the priest's room upstairs. Those were light jobs and pretty clean ones. The worst jobs were potato corner and kitchen duties, except in the main kitchen because you got a lot of food. Some of the jobs you only had to work in the morning, and those were the good ones. The others you had to work after every meal.

The classroom is an area where rewards and punishments are traditionally used by the teacher. Rewards for student achievement including placing a gold star by the student's name on the classroom chart, or a student could be given special errands or responsibilities by the teacher. One teacher described her use of rewards:

> I never believed in giving rewards to children, because I felt the biggest reward was to succeed. If you succeed, that's reward enough. But I would give them things out of the blue sometimes. I always had a pail of candy in the cupboard and once in a while when everyone was quiet and working well, someone would look at me and say, "Can I get the little pail?", and they would go around and pass a candy to everyone. But I believed more in doing that than giving prizes.

Classroom punishments ranged from being kept in the room after school hours and assigned extra work to being given a beating with the strap by the principal.

Punishment was used when students ran away from the school or "deserted." Punishments were often severe during the period 1931 to 1945. Examples are girls being held down by other girls while being strapped, and boys having their heads shaved. Such severe sanctions were often carried out in the presence of other students in order to act as a deterent. Severe discipline was less frequent recently, and by 1960 students were being punished by being denied television or the monthly movies at the school.

Other school sanctions were associated with recreation. Students were rewarded by being offered more recreation time or by new programs and they were punished by the withholding of these. Because boys had more recreational opportunities, recreation based sanctions were used with them more frequently than with the girls.

Persuasion

Persuasion can be employed in social control. Authorities attempt to control a situation by altering individual's attitudes. It is suggested that persuasion was also used in the religious activities of the school.

In the previous discussion, the student group known as the Missionary Association of Mary Immaculate was discussed as a means of rewarding students. Such organizations were used to change students' attitudes toward the work of the church. It was hoped that such groups, organized by church staff, would result in more students not only accepting the efforts of the missionaries, but actively participating in it themselves. Students who belonged to this group took part in the work of the church by assisting at mass, by raising money, and through prayer. They would also develop programs at the school to encourage other students to adopt practices of the group.

Another church group at the school, Catholic Action, was formed in 1939. Catholic Action was a church layperson's involvement program. At Blue Quills, the students' participation was in trying to change their parents' religious attitudes and practices. For example, the students were encouraged to have and to read Catholic papers in their homes on the reserve (although they were not at home themselves) and to urge their parents to participate in church work. A grade three boy "wrote" in the school newspaper:

> I will listen when Sister reads to us in school, so that I can tell my parents when I go home for holidays. We should never go to sun dances, and we should try to stop it if we can by telling our parents it is forbidden by God. We should try to give good example to the children who do not come to school yet. I will never go to a sun dance.[418]

This is an example of how a child could be used in the efforts of the church to influence Indian parents.

Another form of persuasion was student participation in events of the liturgical calendar. Attendance and participation in such events were compulsory. In addition to attending daily mass, religious holidays were celebrated. There were noncalendrical events when students were baptised and confirmed. In the 1960's the religious staff changed the regulations from requiring daily attendance at morning mass to attendance at least every Sunday. By participating in such events, the staff hoped to persuade students to be active Catholics when they were discharged from school and to support the church's role in Indian schools.

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[418] Grey Nun Archives, Moccasin Telegram, April 1939.

Throughout a student's stay at the school catechism instruction formed a persuasive aspect of church education. Father Lacombe's Pictorial Catechism (Figures 3a to 3c) was used at the school until the 1950's. The pictorial catechism made a lasting impression on many students. It is not unusual for people who attended the school from the 1930's to the 1950's to remember the catechism. One said:

> They had two roads going up, one going up to heaven had all white people and the one going up to hell had all Indian people.

For another former student the catechism left the message, "If you stay Indian you'll end up in hell." This catechism, and others such as the Baltimore Catechism, were used to teach students church history and beliefs. In so doing, it was hoped the pupils and their parents would embrace Catholicism and give up competing religious beliefs including native traditions and Protestantism.

Persuasion was also evident in the attempted recruitment to religious vocations. Students remember vocation days when members of the Oblates and Grey Nuns encouraged them to enter a religious order. In the 1950's, two students entered a convent to become nuns. However, some

Sisters who worked at the school also claim that they discouraged students from persuing a religious vocation "because Indians aren't constant." Because few students entered religious orders, the school appears unpersuasive in this matter.

Persuasion was a mechanism of social control which it was hoped would stay with students after they left Blue Quills. Although the effects of insulation and sanction were not without influence when the student ceased to be a student, persuasion was an attempt to change the student for life. It was parallel to the general goals of Indian education yet it was less successful, perhaps because it was so encompassing.

Conflict Absorption

Conflict absorption refers to a process by which conflict is neither suppressed nor yet allowed to bring about any substantial change in the social structure.[419] This mechanism of social control has also been referred to as cooptation. The dominant group allows those in the subordinate position to enter the larger power structure, thereby giving them access to previously unknown information. The subordinate group is unable to use this information to bring about any significant change in their relationship to the dominant group because they are still subject to dominant group sanctions. They lose credibility with other members of their own subordinate group, and eventually become part of the dominant structure.[420] This is referred to as "selling out."

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[419] Etzioni-Halevy, pp. 286-309.

The following are two illustrations of conflict absorption. The first is Indian language use in the school, whereby the church staff permitted and occasionally encouraged and taught native language to the students. Another is the Catholic Indian League's role in the native community, whereby the church directed an Indian organization supporting church involvement in reserve life and education.

There were two Indian language groups at Blue Quills, Cree and Chipewyan, and relations between the two were often unfriendly. By doing little to encourage friendly relations between students using the two languages, conflict was absorbed that might otherwise be directed at the church staff. The Crees always outnumbered the Chipewyans. One Cree woman said, "When we were little we'd have gang wars with the Chips, we really hated each other." Although many of the Chipewyan-speaking students learned Cree, the reverse was less common. Most students recall being told by the staff that the Chipewyan speaking students were smarter.

Conflict was absorbed by encouraging the division between Cree and Chipewyan inmates. It was also absorbed by teaching the students their catechism in either Cree or Chipewyan. Although students learned to read and write their native languages, its use was restricted to religious settings.

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[420] Frideres, p. 190.

When Father Balter became the school principal in 1936, he taught both language groups how to read, write and say prayers in their native language. Until Father Balter's death in 1948, sermons were given in Cree, Chipewyan and English. During the few years Blue Quills was known as the Cree University, missionary priests came to the school to learn Cree and teach the children's catechism. Unlike the period of Father Balter when reading and writing an Indian language was taught, the Cree University emphasized the oral language only.

Although English was the language of instruction, use of a native language outside the classroom was tolerated by the staff. Students were seldom punished when they spoke their native language. Some students were grateful to the priests for teaching them to read, write, and pray in Cree and Chipewyan.

Conflict absorption is also an aspect of the Catholic Indian League. The League was organized by the Secretariat of the Oblate Indian and Eskimo Commission in 1954, and was active on the Saddle Lake Reserve until the mid 1960's.

The goal of the organization was to protect the religious and social rights of the Catholic Indian population by uniting and coordinating the efforts of local Catholic Action groups. Other goals of the League were to encourage the establishment of the Catholic Action groups, protect the right of Catholic education for Indian children, and develop leadership among the reserve Catholic population.

The Catholic Indian League affected potential conflict in several ways. It facilitated the development of an organization which encouraged Indian church participation yet was directed by the bishop and the missionaries. The priorities of the League were set by the church. For example, when the League at its 1958 meeting emphasized that the department's policy of integration was a threat to residential schools, they were repeating what the Catholic residential school principals were saying to the Indian Affairs Branch.

In 1962, the Indian Catholic community presented the department with their desire for community development on the reserve. Verbal reassurances were given to the League by the department that their concerns were being considered seriously. The Minister of Indian Affairs wrote, "I wish to thank your League for their interest in the education of their children and to assure you that although I am not able to promise you everything you ask I appreciate the effort you are making to understand and improve the educational services provided by the government for your people."[421]

Although some of the League's requests were eventually acted on by the department and by the church, the basic relationship between the Indian community and the larger society remained the same. This is characteristic of conflict absorption, where "the central allocative patterns, the overall socioeconomic systems, and the major power structures are left basically unchanged."[422] While the existence of the Catholic Indian League assisted in the absorption of conflict between Indian community, church, and state, it also served to train Indian people how to organize, conduct meetings, prepare briefs, and work as a pressure group. These skills undoubtedly came into play when in 1970 the Indian community occupied the school, demanded the church leave it, and demanded that the department turn the administration of Blue Quills over to them.

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[421] "Minutes and Proceedings, Catholic Indian League of Canada, Alberta Division 1954-1965," p. 27.

D. A TOTAL INSTITUTION AND THE OUTSIDE WORLD

Total institutions have defenses against social intercourse which are often part of their physical structure. There is, however, a degree of permeability. This section examines the changes in intercourse between Blue Quills and the larger society--from isolation to integration to the political changes which resulted in the take-over of the school by the community's Education Council.

From Isolation to Integration

The philosophy and legislation of the federal government was based on the view that Indians would best become civilized through isolation. Chapter II described this isolation where the reserve was isolated from the larger community and the residential school was isolated from both the reserve and community.

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[422] Etzioni-Halevy, p. 289.

The church saw the residential school as preparation for life on the reserves where the Indian could inter-relate the Christian ethic with an agrarian life style. The church believed that civilization would be facilitated by educating and ministering to the Indians as a separate and isolated group.

The residential school was accorded public support at least by non-Indians until the mid 1940's. Following the Second World War, however, the government began to doubt the effectiveness of its protectionist policy. The Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on the Indian Act made recommendations which brought about a gradual end to the educational segregation of Indian children and an end to the authority of the Catholic church for their education. The report of the Joint Committee of 1946 said that wherever possible Indian children should be educated with non-Indians.

An Indian Affairs Branch report in 1956 concluded that "although the various churches are to be highly commended for the pioneering job they did, the time has arrived when they should be relieved of this duty of educating the Indian children."[423] With the lessening of federal support for church involvement in Indian education the church turned toward the native community. If the church could no longer rely on government authority and public support of what they saw as the right to maintain their primary role in Indian schools, then it had to turn toward its own religious authority over Catholic Indian people.

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[423] Bailey, p. 27.

The church's religious emphasis in Blue Quills has been called persuasion, a mechanism of social control where those in the superior position attempt to control by altering subordinates' attitudes towards their situation. By establishing religious groups, participation in the liturgical calendar, and instruction in catechism the church attempted to emphasize its religious authority over Indian students. Within the native community the church sought to gain converts and support by its mission work on the reserves and by the creation of organizations of lay people which would foster a native commitment to Catholic education.

It is suggested that as government support for church control of native education lessened, the church sought to replace it with Indian support by establishing the Catholic Indian League. Education was always a primary concern of the League. The resolutions passed by League meetings indicate the church's efforts to establish Indian support for Catholic education. The influence of the church on the League can be seen not only in the resolutions and the topics discussed at the annual meetings, but in the very wording of briefs presented.[424]

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[424] "Minutes and Proceedings, Catholic Indian League of Canada, Alberta Division 1954-1965," p. 25.

The League continued to endorse the work of the church in education, requesting increased government support for Catholic residential schools. The department however was planning to phase out residential schools, to integrate senior classes into existing public schools and to build more day schools on the reserve.

Political Change

Some members of the League were beginning to question the church's role in education openly. During a discussion period at the 1961 Annual Congress, the exchange between the Oblates and Indian delegates indicated the political changes being experienced in the Indian community.

> From the floor (Indian delegate): May Catholic parents send children to non-Catholic schools?
> Answer (Oblate): Outside of absolute necessity, no. If the parents were fully aware of the far reaching effects of their decision, they would never do it. The Bishop could excommunicate the delinquents if it were for the greater good of his flock.
> From the floor (Indian delegate): How come white families just outside of the reserve are sending their children to a public school, while we are asked not to?
> Answer (Oblate): The laws of education are at present more just for the Indians than for the whites, more respectful of a parent's God-given rights to educate his children according to his conscience. Let us therefore take full advantage of them.[425]

This questioning was reflected in the changing priorities of the League. In 1962 the theme of the annual conference was community development; the following year it was cooperatives and credit unions, and in 1964 the League's theme was adult education and Indian School Committees.

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[425] Ibid., pp. 58-59.

After 1965 the Catholic Indian League ceased to be an active force on reserves. Indian involvement in the League, and the basis of much Indian support of Catholic education, was replaced by a more ecumenical political focus. It is no coincidence that the last year of an active Catholic Indian league in Alberta, 1965, was also the year when Indian parents and students charged the Catholic priest with sexual misconduct. This is not to say that one caused the other, but rather that the general societal changes culminated in bringing about the rejection of the church by many Indian people.

Developments on the Saddle Lake Reserve during the 1960's provide an explanation for changes in Indian community concerns. In 1961 the Indian Affairs Branch began to sponsor leadership and community development courses on the reserve, and workshops were promoted which encouraged contact between the Indian and non-Indian communities. Changes in provincial laws occurred too as Indians were given the right to enter beer parlors and purchase liquor from the vendors in 1966, and in 1967 Alberta gave treaty Indians the right to vote in elections.

The provincially funded "Opportunity Assessment Study of the Saddle Lake Reserve" in 1966 concluded that "the present situation on the Saddle Lake Reserve seems to be almost totally destructive for any chance of progress by the people."[426] The study charged that the administration at the Blue Quills School was a major reason for the high drop-out rate of Catholic students from the reserve.

The Indian Affairs Branch organized an adult education program and an upgrading program. The course begun included weekly discussions and guest speakers addressed the well-attended meetings on topics such as the law, use of the communications media, unemployment, and school integration. The sessions were characterized by vigorous debate, and upon the conclusion of the course the local newspaper noted that changes on the part of the non-Indian community were long overdue.

In addition to adult education programs, the department also established school committees in the mid 1960's. One woman from Saddle Lake said:

> School committees on the reserve started about 1965, but at first we were just a bunch of glorified truant officers. Our concerns were staffing, although it was difficult to have much of a say in the hiring, so our activities were on more immediate things, such as school lunch policies.

The support accorded Indian education had changed. Until the mid 1940's church and Indian schools were given general public acceptance. Developments in Indian communities in the 1960's reduced the community support the church had attempted to build. By the late 1960's the church had little support for its involvement in native education from Indian groups or the government. The school committees were becoming secular vehicles for direct Indian involvement in Indian education.

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[426] Newman, p. 102.

In September of 1969 the Saddle Lake School Committee began to pressure the department and Blue Quills principal to hire more Indian people at the school. A few were hired, making Indians 14 per cent of the non-teaching staff. The committee, however, still viewed the situation as inequitable. The department's advocacy of increasing numbers of day students, of integrating students into the public school system, and of minimizing native employment and participation at the school itself were making Blue Quills untenable as an Indian educational operation.

White Paper Implications

This was when the White Paper on Indian policy was introduced in 1969. The White Paper stated that "the separate legal status of Indians and the policies which have flowed from it have kept the Indian people apart from and behind other Canadians."[427] It proposed that all services to Indian people, including education, be provided by the same agencies and governments. To do this it would be necessary to remove the grounds for legal discrimination, particularly those found in the Indian Act.

One month after the Saddle Lake School Committee had presented its grievance about employment, and in the midst of discussions of the White Paper, the School Committee was told that when the Regional High School opened the following year in St. Paul the Indian Affairs Branch planned to phase out the classrooms at Blue Quills. At a meeting held at Saddle Lake 7 December 1969, the Committee requested that the department turn the operation of the school over to native management and that they receive assistance in replacing the existing non-academic staff with Indian people. The department did not respond to this request.

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[427] White Paper, p. 5.

The implications of the White Paper and subsequent events are very significant in the eventual Indian take-over of the Blue Quills Indian Residential School. With church involvement in the native community no longer supported by government or Indian people, the policy changes represented by the White Paper were important.

The White Paper proposed that the Indian Act be repealed and that provincial governments have the same responsibility for Indians as they have for other citizens of their provinces. The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development was to be phased out within five years, and Indian people would acquire title to Indian lands. Although the White Paper said that the legal obligations of claims and treaties would be recognized, it went on to say:

> The significance of the treaties in meeting the economic, educational, health and welfare needs of the Indian people has always been limited and will continue to decline. The services that have been provided go far beyond what could have been foreseen by those who signed the treaties.[428]

A Commissioner would be appointed to report on the status of claims and treaties and make recommendations on future change. Because treaty obligations, according to many Indian people, had been unfair, the new policy would deal with such grievances; "once Indian lands are securely with Indian control, the anomaly of treaties between groups within society and the government of that society will require that these treaties be reviewed to see how they can be equitably ended."[429]

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[428] Ibid., p. 11.

These proposals were unacceptable to many Indian people. The Indian Association of Alberta's Red Paper said that the government must accept the treaties as binding, and that it was "neither possible nor desirable to eliminate the Indian Act."[430] They argued that Indians be regarded as "citizens plus," while the government argued that Indians should be no different from other Canadians.

The White Paper provided a focus for the conflict between the Indian community and the government. The native community wanted greater participation in Blue Quills, and that more Indian people be on staff. The department, in keeping with its policy of integration, and in the spirit of the White Paper, planned to phase out Blue Quills when the Regional High School opened in St. Paul. This was unacceptable to Indians of the Saddle Lake-Athabasca District. Many saw Blue Quills as their school; as one man said, "The reason we had that sit-in was so we could take over the school ourselves and run it the way we want. It was our school."

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[429] Ibid.
[430] Red Paper, p. 12.

Indian Community Reaction

When the Indian community began demand that more than a few native people be employed at the school, it was directed toward both the church administrators of the school and Indian Affairs Branch. However, after the initial meetings on the matter the church was dropped from further negotiations and the department became the only target for negotiation about education. Denied participation in determining their own fate the priest and the few remaining Grey Nuns left the school. A long-time Indian employee of the school and a man actively involved in the sit-in and take-over said:

> We would have kept on priests and Sisters, but they were too proud to work under us. I told them. "If you want to work for us you can stay. We aren't going to work for you. We're not chasing you out." There must have been hard feelings because they lost their authority.

After the take-over another agreement was signed between the department and the Saddle Lake Parish of the Roman Catholic Church providing chaplaincy services to residence students and staff at Blue Quills. This service too was discontinued because of insufficient participation.

The Blue Quills take-over has served as a model for the development of other Indian-operated schools, and its work in the areas of curriculum development and post-secondary studies has been innovative. The department, on the other hand, has yet to transfer operation of the school classrooms to the Council, a more significant transfer than that of the operation of the residence. Departmental regulations, control of financing, and differential interpretations at intermediate levels of Indian Affairs Branch administration have made attaining Indian control of Indian education problematic.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation presents a case study of an Indian residential school in northeastern Alberta. The Blue Quills Indian Residential School had its origin in the Lac La Biche Mission which operated from 1857 to 1898. This mission closed and the students and staff were transferred to a residential school which had been built on the Saddle Lake Reserve. As Blue Quill's Band were the only ones who accepted the school, allowing it to be built on their part of the reserve, the school was named after Chief Blue Quill. In the 1920's a land surrender on the reserve, the missionaries' desire to have a larger school accommodating more Roman Catholic students, and the department's wish to locate the school off the reserve to reduce parental influence led to the proposal for a new school. The Blue Quills School was built by the government 5 km. west of St. Paul and opened in 1931. This study traces the development of this school from this period to 1971 when the school became the first Indian school in Canada to be taken over and administered by native people.

A. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Chapter I dealt with the research situation and served as an introduction to the study. The statement of the problem presented the thesis of the study and the research questions for which information was gathered. An historical overview of the bands in northeastern Alberta provided the background of the study, thereby identifying the school population. Findings and significance of the study were discussed, followed by a review of related studies.

The examination of related literature revealed five case studies of Indian residential schools: Ryan's "Carlisle Indian Industrial School," Kennedy's "Qu'Appelle Industrial School," Wasylow's "History of Battleford Industrial School for Indians," Colfer's "An Ethnography of Leaderlong Indian School," and King's The School at Mopass. The first four are unpublished master's and doctoral theses; the last is one of the case studies in education and culture edited by George Spindler and Louise Spindler.

A thread of continuity found in these studies was their reliance on an acculturation framework. It was pointed out that acculturation studies form much of the research about Indians, and have been the chief anthropological means of analyzing Indian people's contemporary situation.[431] Such studies have been criticized as being overly descriptive, atemporal, and functional.[432]

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[431] Max Hedley, "Acculturation Studies of North American Indians: A Critique of the Underlying Framework and its Implications" (M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1971).

Of these five case studies, those of Colfer, Kennedy, and King are directly based on an acculturation framework. Kennedy attempts to make use of a model of rites of passage and directed acculturation which assumes that the Indian people of Ft. Qu'Appelle were not an integrated part of the larger society. Colfer suggests that her analysis is more useful than King's because it substitutes "the culture contact situation itself for King's Indian identity problem."[433] The Wasylow thesis is an unarticulated collection of "historical facts" concerning possible acculturation. Ryan's dissertation, although well-written, has no explicit theoretical model. Her claim that the founder of the Carlisle Indian School supported an "acculturation under duress" policy may indicate the study's framework as well.

Such acculturation models assume Indians occupy an autonomous cultural system based on pre-contact society. Moreover, they assume a condition of stability, if not isolation, of native people. What is needed is research that takes the limitations inherent in the acculturation framework into account and proposes a new interpretation of schooling as experienced by Indian people. The present work attempts such a study.

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[432] Robert F. Murphy, The Dialectics of Social Life: Alarms and Excursions in Anthropological Theory (New York: Basic Books, 1971).

[433] Colfer, p. 177.

Chapter II examined student participation in the school and relations between the church and the Indian Affairs Branch. It focused on the period 1931 to the mid 1940's when the Second World War ended, and the department adopted a new policy of Indian education. Prior to this the educational goals of the church and department were not dissimilar; each believed that civilization of the Indian could be best accomplished through isolation.

To the department, civilizing the Indian meant raising the moral and intellectual level of reserve communities so that assimilation into Canadian society would be automatic. The off-reserve residential school was considered the most effective type of school to achieve such a goal. To the church, civilizing the Indian meant proselytization.

The church's objective encompassed the spiritual dimension of Catholicizing the Indian as well as the practical dimension of preparing her/him for a settled agrarian life. Such goals required schools to teach the students to study and read the scriptures. A residential school might also facilitate training in work skills: farming for the boys and home-making for the girls.

At Blue Quills, as in most Indian residential schools, this meant a work-study program where students would spend half a day in the classroom and the other half working in the school or on its farm. This routine was tightly orchestrated by the church personnel.

As a church-operated school, Blue Quills was financed by the department. Buildings were a joint government-church responsibility, books and supplies were paid for by the Indian Affairs Branch, and operating expenses including salaries were paid for by the church which was then reimbursed from the government on a per student basis.

The church and Indian Affairs Branch had a number of areas of mutual interest and relations were generally amicable. During the war cooperation could be found in such fields as restraints in financing, problems in attendance, and improving teacher qualifications. Although the church cooperated with the department, it anticipated that the end of the war would bring increased financial support and recognition of its essential role in the education of Indian children. What it actually brought was a change from "paternalistic ideology to democratic ideology,"[434] and a new trend in federal government policy in Indian Affairs.

This new direction was the theme of Chapter III which examined the implementation of the policy of integration during the period from 1945 to 1960. This policy was formalized by the passing of a new Indian Act in 1951 which enabled the day-to-day administration of Indian education to be transferred to provincial governments. Wherever possible Indian children were to be educated with non-Indian children.

In a 1956 survey of Indian day and residential schools in Alberta the federal department recommended that Blue

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[434] Hawthorn, pp. 22-23.

Quills students above the elementary grades be integrated with the schools in St. Paul. The school would then teach grades one through six and provide boarding facilities for those attending integrated schools.

The primary reason given by the church for not supporting the department's integration policy was that Catholic Indian students should attend only Catholic schools. The Indian residential school was, according to the church, advantageous over integrated schools because it could provide religious training, teachers knowledgeable in instructing Indians, and could foster students' pride in their ethnicity.

The differences between the church and the department were brought to a head in the discussions about an Indian high school. The department supported building a centralized Indian high school close to a large city which could provide a more flexible program than a segregated high school on one of the reserves or near one of the residential schools. Such a school could provide boarding and classroom facilities and serve as a transition for students to attend city high schools. The Catholic residential school principals claimed they represented both the church and the Indian community when not endorsing this proposal. Their concern, they said, was that integration not be forced or hurried, and that high school programs already in operation in residential schools be given an opportunity to develop.

Church personnel claimed that it was a matter of principle that the state support the church in matters of Indian education. Their position was that the role of the state was to help the work of the church. The judgment and authority of the church were said to be part of the supernatural order, while the family and the state were part of the natural order.

Throughout this period the families of Blue Quills students had little involvement in the operation of the school. True, the students were less isolated than in earlier years and were now associating more with the outside community. Their parents, however, remained on the reserve. A few began to participate in department-sponsored workshops on community development and some became involved in the church-organized Catholic Indian League. The decade of the 1960's would see an upsurge in Indian involvement in education.

Chapter IV focused on the Indian community's participation in the Blue Quills School from 1961 to 1971. This period was characterized by declining church influence, increased government control, and rising native involvement in the school.

The church still believed in the effectiveness of the residential school, claiming the institution was in an ideal position to bridge the gap between the reserve and the larger society. Church personnel were, however, concerned about their ability to continue the administrative role with opposition from the department, increased involvement from the native community, and decreasing support from the Grey Nuns.

The department planned a gradual transition at Blue Quills from a multi-purpose institution to a junior-senior high school hostel. They also began to dispose of some of the land on which the school was located. When the Hawthorn Report was released in 1967 residential schools were criticized and recommendations made to convert denominational boarding schools into hostels.

The department's policy of integration and plans for phasing out Blue Quills were hampered by the increasing involvement of the native community. The Catholic Indian League served as a training ground for some, as did the government workshops on economic development and adult education.

With the formation of a school committee on the Saddle Lake Reserve, the Indian community took a more active role in educational matters. They pressured the department to remove the Blue Quills principal in 1966. A few years later they began to question the Indian Affairs Branch and school administrator on the small number of native people employed at the school.

While the native community was protesting the government's White Paper released in 1969, the department announced that the classrooms at Blue Quills would be closed down in a year, resulting in the school being used only as a high school student hostel. The Saddle Lake School Committee demanded that the operation of the school be turned over to native management. The Chiefs of Alberta released the Red Paper, stating that Indian communities be given the same prerogatives of local control of educational policies and budget as were characteristic of non-Indian communities. A sit-in at the school led to negotiations between the department and Indian community resulting in administration of the school by the Blue Quills Native Education Council. Blue Quills became the first school in Canada operated by Indians.

In order to analyze the description of Blue Quills over this forty year period, Chapter V offered an interpretation based on conflict in a total institution. Since the explanatory power of the acculturation framework used in related studies was questioned, this study advanced a model which attempted to take into account the limitations of previous work.

Whereas acculturation studies are descriptive, atemporal and functional, this study is concerned with social control and the distribution of power. This process was analyzed by explaining how conflict was generated and how it was regulated within the organization of a total institution. An examination of political change provided an explanation of the take-over of the school by the Indian community.

Conflict was generated by the structure of the school. The study concentrated on the student world, and examined the ways those in subordinate positions learn and adapt to a residential school. Student adaptation was discussed as acquiesence and resistance, while staff regulated and generated conflict by mechanisms of social control identified as insulation, sanction, persuasion, and conflict absorption.

The changing relationship between a total institution and larger society provided a framework for explaining the 1970 sit-in at the school. Political change in the Indian community and the government's White Paper combined with the department's plan to close down Blue Quills. This resulted in native people demanding that the school be turned over to them. The take-over resulted in Blue Quills becoming the first school in Canada to be administered by native people.

By emphasizing the normative aspects of society many studies have ignored social structure and relied upon the cliche of culture. A critique of the explanatory power of the culture concept is another study. This study, however, endorses the claim made ten years ago that "In short, the 'Indian question' will continue in its present form for several generations as a problem of class--not of culture."[435]

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[435] Carstens, p. 144.

B. SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Arising from this work, including specific areas not in the scope of this study, are several possibilities for research.

1. An area which has received little attention in this study is curriculum. It has been said that "Historians interested in the politics of education have accordingly looked more at the structure of schooling than at its contents."[436] The content of education, however, is important in understanding Indian education.

2. Blue Quills was a denominational school founded and operated by the Roman Catholic Church. Other religious denominations including the Anglican Church, the United Church, and the Presbyterian Church, were also associated with the education of Indian children. For example, in Alberta in 1931 of the twenty Indian residential schools in operation, equal numbers were owned by the Anglican Church and the Roman Catholic Church. A comparison of schools operated by different religious denominations would assist in interpreting the ideology and impact of Christian education on the native population.

3. Schools for Indian children were part of a larger educational network and social milieu. Although such schools were unique because they were under the jurisdiction of the federal government, they had economic and political events in common with non-Indian schools. The comparison of an

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[436] Karabel and Halsey, p. 43.

Indian school with its non-Indian neighbour would shed light on their similarities and differences.

4. The need for a critical examination of the concept of culture as an explanatory device in anthropology and education has been alluded to. The concepts of both culture and multiculturalism have been pushed to the point where a reevaluation is essential.[437] Some scholars have begun this analysis, as evidenced by Studstill's work questioning the paradigm of traditional education.[438] However, many continue to utilize the concept and advocate its application to schools without question. As has been pointed out, "the concept can be better understood as part of a belief system than as a scientific discovery."[439] A critique of the culture concept is necessary for the development of anthropology and education.

C. DISCUSSION

Four basic questions were posed in Chapter I that are answered in this study. The response to those questions resulted in the following conclusions.

1. What was the federal government's policy on Indian education?

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[437] see Ward H. Goodenough, "Multiculturalism as the Normal Human Experience," Anthropology and Education Quarterly 7 (1976).

[438] John D. Studstill, "Education in a Luba Secret Society," Anthropology and Education Quarterly 10 (1979).

[439] John H. Moore, "The Culture Concept as Ideology," American Anthropologist 76 (1974), p. 537.

The general aim of the federal government's present policy is the integration of Indians into Canadian society. This was defined in a document entitled Cooperation Towards Partnership as:

> The Federal Government is at present pursuing a redefinition of its relationship with the country's 280,000 status Indians to make them equal partners with all Canadians while safeguarding their special constitutional rights. This approach is based on the concept of a distinct Indian identity within Canadian society as opposed to further alienation from Canadian society or total assimilation into it.[440]

Education has always been seen as the primary means for achieving this aim. Until 1945 the Indian Affairs Branch sought to integrate Indians by isolating them on the reserve and in residential schools such as Blue Quills. This may at first seem a contradiction. However, the rationale of such a policy was that Indians first had to be civilized. This could be best accomplished by separating them from the larger society until they had attained a state of development similar to non-Indians. Then integration would occur.

This isolationist and protectionist policy changed after the war to one of speeding up integration by educating Indian and non-Indian children together wherever possible. Residential schools were then viewed by the department as liabilities which should be eliminated. In the earlier period, religious denominations who founded and operated schools for Indian children were viewed by the government as playing a necessary role. With the change in policy the Indian Affairs Branch moved to end its relationship with the church.

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[440] Canada, Cooperation Towards Partnership (Ottawa: Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1977), p. 7.

2. How did the religious orders associated with the school implement the government's education policy?

As long as the government acknowledged the integral role of the church in Indian education, they shared similar goals. The religious orders were free to implement the policy of civilization through isolation with their own interpretations. When the policy changed however, the relationship between the church and department became less amiable. Many would have concurred with the priest's comment at the turn of the century that the government would "kill the Catholic schools by inches."[441]

The church objected to the department's plan to turn the residential school into a hostel, or worse yet into a correctional institution. Their position was that they represented Indian parents' wishes for continued support of residential schools. Integration could only be effectively accomplished when Indian schools had sufficiently prepared the students to make such a transition. One priest stated:

> As the Indian child goes through the school system, he is psychologically hurt and disturbed by two facets of the contemporary Canadian educational system which reflect our own different understanding of the world and of Canada in particular. The first one is the fragmentalized approach to reality and the second one is the irrelevance of educational offerings in relation to Indian status and personality.[442]

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[441] Leduc, p. 5.

[442] Andre Renaud, Education and the First Canadians (Toronto: Gage, 1971), p. 40.

When all non-teaching staff, including priests employed as school administrators, became members of the federal Public Service Commission in 1969, the church lost its influence in hiring. Increasing centralization of power by the Indian Affairs Branch and the decline in the number of men and women entering religious orders combined with growing demands for independence by the Indian community for the church to greatly reduce its involvement in native education.

3. How did the Indian students participate in the school?

Students spent ten months of the year at residential school. There they were isolated from their family and from the non-Indian community. In the school they were separated by age and sex. Those who attended an integrated high school had little to do with the public school classmates.

However, in spite of this isolation they were not passive recipients of their school experience. They were prompted by their own interest to get the most they could from their years at school. By various means of acceptance and resistance the students influenced the church and the Indian Affairs Branch.

A study of residential schools in Saskatchewan asked whether Indian children emotionally had ever "moved into" the residential school.[443]

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[443] George Caldwell, Indian Residential Schools: A Research Study of the Child Care Programs of Nine Residential Schools in Saskatchewan (Ottawa: Canada Welfare Council, 1967), p.

It concluded they had not. The present research indicates otherwise. Regardless of either acceptance or resistance the residential school was a significant emotional investment for generations of Indian people.

Most native people would agree with the National Indian Brotherhood's statement:

> There is difficulty and danger in taking a position on Indian education because of the great diversity of problems encountered across the country. The National Indian Brotherhood is confident that it expresses the will of the people it represents when it adopts a policy based on two fundamental principles of education in a democratic country, i.e.: parental responsibility and local control.[444]

The principles of parental responsibility and local control have historically not been a part of native education. The Indian community was the object of government legislation and church implementation of education policy. Controls given to the Chief and Council were limited since they were subject to government constraint, making this power more formal than actual.

4. What led up to the 1970 confrontation between the native community and the government?

Blue Quills was unique in that it was the first confrontation based upon the Indian community's desire to control their education. Since that time and place confrontations between native people and the larger society have not been uncommon.

This study suggests that the confrontation occurred because of the political changes in the late 1960's. This had not been the first time native resistance had occurred. The establishment and development of the school was characterized by resistance and the 1970 confrontation can be seen as the culmination of this process.

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[444] (cont'd) 111.

[444] National Indian Brotherhood, Indian Control of Indian Education (Ottawa: Mail-o-Matic, 1972), p. 13.

The thesis of this study is that the Indian community resisted government and church controls. The nature of this resistance--its reason for existance and its manifestation in the residential school over a forty year period has been the focus of the study. The groups exercising social control, the church and the Indian Affairs Branch, have also been analyzed.

The writing of Canadian history has been criticized for its undue emphasis on national history and unity and for its failure to analyze class structure and conflict.[445] The history of native people has also been found wanting for its preoccupation with concepts of culture. This study has attempted to interpret Indian experience in a residential school within the analytic framework of conflict theory, avoiding an over-emphasis on culture and depending, in part, on the views of native people. Although the era of this form of Indian education is over, its effect will last for generations.

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[445] Carl Berger, The Writing of Canadian History, Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing: 1900-1970 (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 262-263.

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3. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Documents

Admissions and Discharges
Blue Quills Students Residence: file 779/25-2-009, vols. 1, 4, and 6.

Audit Reports
Blue Quills Students Residence: file 779/16-2-009, vols. 2 and 3.

Finances
Blue Quills Students Residence: file 779/16-1-009, vol. 1.

General
Blue Quills Students Residence: file 779/25-1-1, vols. 1 and 4.

General Correspondence
Blue Quills Students Residence, Saddle Lake/Athabasca District: file 779/25-13-009, vol. 2.

Guidance Counsellor's Monthly Report
file 779/23-1, vol. 2.

Indian Private Schools
Blue Quills: file 779/25-1-1, vols. 2, 3, 4, and 5.

Inventory
Blue Quills Students Residence: file 779/12-1-5-009, vol. 1.

Principals Monthly Report
Blue Quills: file 779/23-16-009, vols. 1 and 2.

School Buildings
Blue Quills Students Residence: file 779/6-1-009, vols. 1, 2, 8, 9, 10, and 11.

School Establishment
Blue Quills: file 779/1-13-009, vol. 1.

School Furnishings and Appliances
Blue Quills Students Residence: file 779/13-8-009, vol. 2.

School Lands
Blue Quills Students Residence, Saddle Lake/Athabasca District: file 779/36-4-009, vols. 1, 2 and 4.
Saddle Lake: file 779/36-4, vol. 1.

Section of Land
Blue Quill: file 779/32-1, vol. 1.

Yearly Estimates
Blue Quills Students Residence: file 779/16-3-009, vol. 1.

4. Archival Materials

Grey Nun Archives
Chroniques de Blue Quills Residential School, St. Paul, Alberta: 1931-1943, 1943-1964, 1952-1969.
Moccasin Telegram, Blue Quills School, September 1937 to June 1960.

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Blue Quills: Stanley Redcrow; Administrative

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5. Newspapers

Edmonton *Journal*, 28 March 1966 to 4 August 1970

Kainai News, 15 June 1970

St. Paul *Journal*, 20 June 1926 to 10 February 1971

APPENDIX A

INDIVIDUALS INTERVIEWED

APPENDIX A

Lloyd Auger
Matilda (Large) Brertton
Jim Brule
Judy (Cardinal) Brule
Jenny (Cardinal) Cardinal
Joe Cardinal
John E. Cardinal
Sister Imelda Chartier
Mary (Cardinal) Collins
Sister Marguerite Comeau
Annie Cryer
Hazel (Dion) Decoby
Cecile Dion
Irene Dion
Leona (Makokis) Dion
Maggie (Collins) Dion
Mrs. Gosselin
Rosanna (Cardinal) Houle
Sister Marie Hurtubise
Allen Jacob
Alex Janvier
Frank Large
Father Louis-Clement Latour
Mrs. Emile Lefebvre
Emile Lefebvre
Sister Irene Lefebvre
Father Henri-Paul Lyonnais
Sister Annette Mageau
Sister Odile Mahee
Bernie Makokis
Joyce (Machatis) Metchawais
Irene (Cardinal) Morin
Veronica (Cardinal) Morin
John Piche
Marlene (Machatis) Piche
Tom Piche
Roy Piepenberg
Mrs. Pigeon
Sister Annette Potvin
Stanley Redcrow
Father Roy
Robert Sharphead
Bella (Whiskyjack) Shenfield
Bill Shirt
Lillian Shirt
Madeline Skanie
Alice (Cardinal) Steinhauer
Eugene Steinhauer
Isabel Steinhauer
Ralph Steinhauer
Ruby (Bull) Whitford
Charles Wood

APPENDIX B

PRIVY COUNCIL DOCUMENT ESTABLISHING SCHOOL LANDS, JUNE 6, 1929

APPENDIX B

P. C. 968

Certified to be a true copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 6th JUNE 1929

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a report, dated 30th May, 1929, from the Minister of the Interior, submitting:

That representations have been made to the Department by the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs that Section 11, township 58, range 10, west of the 4th Meridian, which is School lands, is required by the Department of Indian Affairs for the purpose of erecting an Indian school thereon and for purposes connected therewith; and

That it is considered to be in the public interest to transfer said Section to the Department of Indian Affairs for the purpose mentioned.

The Minister accordingly recommends that the said Section 11, Township 58, Range 10, West of the 4th Meridian, be withdrawn from the School Lands Endowment Fund, in order that same may be set aside for the Department of Indian Affairs, and that in lieu thereof a selection be made from available Dominion lands of an area sufficient to reimburse the School Lands Endowment Fund for the relinquishment of said section and that the lands, when selected, be set aside as School Lands and gazetted as such.

The Committee concur in the foregoing and submit the same for Your Excellency's approval.

(Signed)

Clerk of the Privy Council.

The Honourable
The Supt. General of Indian Affairs

APPENDIX C

AGREEMENT BETWEEN
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN AND
THE BLUE QUILLS NATIVE EDUCATION COUNCIL,
DECEMBER 31, 1970

APPENDIX C

THIS AGREEMENT made this thirty-first day of December, 1970

BETWEEN	HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN in right of Canada, hereinafter called "Her Majesty,"

OF THE FIRST PART

AND	THE BLUE QUILLS NATIVE EDUCATION COUNCIL, a body corporate and politic, duly incorporated under the laws of Canada, with its head office at Edmonton, Alberta, hereinafter called "The Board,"

OF THE SECOND PART

WHEREAS legislative power over and control and administration of the Blue Quills Student Residence situate at Blue Quills, Alberta are vested in Her Majesty; and

WHEREAS the Minister has been authorized by Order in Council P. C. 1970-2/2177 dated December 22, 1970 made pursuant to section 113 of the Indian Act (Canada) to enter into this agreement.

NOW THEREFORE THIS AGREEMENT WITNESSES that, in consideration of the covenants and agreements hereinafter contained, the parties covenant and agree that

1. In this agreement

   (A) "fiscal year" means a year ending on the 31st day of March;

   (B) "Indian child" means
      (a) child of an Indian as defined in the Indian Act (Canada), and includes
         (i) Non-Indian children of women of former Indian status who return to reserves because of the desertion or death of their husbands, or for other good reasons, either living with their mothers or in the care of friends and relatives on the reserve.
         (ii) Illegitimate non-Indian children of Indian mothers, either living with their mothers or in the care of friends and relatives on a reserve.

(iii) Non-Indian children whose mothers become Indians by marriage and living on a reserve.
(iv) Non-Indian children legally adopted by Indian families living on reserves.

(C) "Minister" means the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development;

(D) "operating costs" means the expenses of administering, operating and maintaining the residence but does not include any amount by which these operating costs may be increased because of the admission to the residence of any child not an Indian child within the meaning of this agreement; and

(E) "Residence" means the Blue Quills Indian Student Residence situate at Blue Quills, Alberta and the land on which that residence is situate, described as follows:
The legal subdivisions seven, eight, nine and ten in Section eleven, Township fifty-eight, Range ten, West of the fourth meridian.

2. Her Majesty shall, upon the coming into force of this Act, advance to the Board for the period from January 1 to March 31, 1971 an amount equal to one-fourth of the total operating costs incurred by Her Majesty for the operation of the residence during the previous fiscal year.

3. As soon as practicable after March 31, 1971 the Board shall submit to the Minister an audited statement of the operating costs of the Board in respect of the residence for the period from January 1, to March 31, 1971.

4. The Board shall on or before January 31, 1971 submit to the Minister a budget for the fiscal year commencing April 1, 1971 setting out the total estimated operating costs for that fiscal year together with a break-down including administration, building maintenance, laundry services, clothing, transportation of Indian pupils to and from the residence, extra curricular activities, training programs and insurance.

5. Upon receipt of and approval by the Minister of the budget mentioned in section 4 Her Majesty shall
(a) on April 1 or if the Minister has not on that date yet approved that budget then immediately after he has approved that budget pay to the Board an amount equal to one-half of the total of the operating costs so approved less any unspent balance out of the payment mentioned in section 2; and
(b) on September 30th, 1971 pay to the Board an amount equal to the other one-half of these approved operating costs.

6. The Board shall, on or before June 30 in each year commencing with the year 1971, submit to the Minister a budget for the fiscal year beginning on the following 1st day of April and setting out the same information as the Board is required to set out in the budget mentioned in section 4.

7. As soon as practicable after June 30, September 30, December 31 and March 31 in each year commencing with the fiscal year beginning April 1, 1971 the Board shall submit to the Minister an audited statement of its operating costs during the one-quarter fiscal year just ended.

8. Upon receipt of an approval by the Minister of a budget mentioned in section 6 Her Majesty shall
  (a) on April 1 or if the Minister has not on that date yet approved the budget for the fiscal year then immediately after he has approved that budget pay to the Board an amount equal to one-half the total of the operating costs so approved less any unspent balance out of the payments made pursuant to this section for the previous fiscal year; and
  (b) on the following September 30 pay to the Board an amount equal to the other one-half of those approved operating costs.

9. Upon the termination of this agreement the Board shall pay to Her Majesty any unspent balance out of any payment made by Her Majesty to the Board pursuant to this agreement.

10. The Board shall admit to the residence Indian children who reside on reserves at any of the following locations: Beaver Lake, Saddle Lake, Goodfish Lake, Frog Lake, Cold Lake, Hart Lake, Kehewin, Janvier, Fort McKay, Fort Chipewyan and Anzac.

11. The Board shall not admit to the residence any Indian child unless in the opinion of the Board the circumstances are such that the admission of the child to the residence would be beneficial to the child because those circumstances come within at least one of the items set out in the schedule.

12. The retention of an Indian child in, the expulsion from, and, subject to section 11, the admission of an Indian child to the residence shall be in the sole discretion and control of the Board subject to the review procedure set out in sections 13 to 21.

13. The Board shall, immediately it admits or refuses admission to the residence of an Indian child or expels or otherwise arranges for an Indian child to leave the residence give to the parent or other person standing in loco parentis to that child notice of that admission, refusal, expulsion or other arrangement by which that child must leave the residence.

14. The recipient of a notice mentioned in section 13 may, within 10 days of the receipt thereof, give to the Board a written protest against the action described in that notice.

15. Upon receipt of a protest mentioned in section 14 the Board shall, as soon as practicable, arrange a meeting between the Board and the sender of the protest mentioned in section 14 and shall, at that meeting hear any representations made by or on behalf of that person the action described in that notice.

16. If, following the meeting mentioned in section 15, the Board has not altered its decision to the satisfaction of the person sending the protest, that person may, within 10 days of that meeting request the Minister in writing to arrange for the appointment of a Board of Arbitration and setting out in that request the decision being protested and the action being requested.

17. The Minister shall, immediately upon receiving a request mentioned in section 16 send a copy thereof to the Board and appoint one member to the Board of Arbitration.

18. The Board shall, immediately it has received a copy of the request mentioned in section 16 appoint one member to the Board of Arbitration.

19. The two members so appointed shall, within 14 days of the appointment of the second of them, choose a third member of the Board of Arbitration who shall be the chairman thereof.

20. The Board of Arbitration shall make such investigation into the decision being protested as the Board of Arbitration may see fit.

21. The decision of the Board of Arbitration shall be final and binding on both parties to this agreement.

22. The Board shall provide for the students living in the residence nutrition conforming to the standards laid down by the Medical Services Bureau of the Department of National Health and Welfare, shall permit inspection of the residence by officers of that Department at intervals determined by the Minister of National Health and Welfare and shall carry into effect his recommendations as to what standard of nutrition, accommodation and child care shall be provided by the Board to those students in the residence.

23. The Board shall be responsible for the maintenance of the residence and funds to cover these costs will be included in the budget referred to in sections 4, 5 and 6 of this agreement.

24. The Board shall repay to Her Majesty any loss or damages caused to the residence by the Board, its employees, servants or agents to the residence or any furnishings or equipment therein

through any neglect or other default on the part of the Board, to its employees, servants or agents.

25. The Board shall carry fire and other property damage insurance and public liability insurance in respect of the residence satisfactory to the Minister and shall immediately such insurance is effected furnish him with a copy of the policy in respect thereof.

26. The Board shall ensure adequare fire protection in the residence, shall permit the Dominion Fire Marshall to inspect the residence at intervals determined by him and shall carry out his recommendations as to what fire protection measures are to be taken in the residence.

27. The Board shall indemnify and save harmless Her Majesty from and in respect of all claims and demands of whatsoever kind or nature arising out of or in respect of the residence including those arising out of or in respect to any injury to any child.

28. The hiring, disciplining and dismissal of all persons employed by the Board in or in connection with the residence and the number of persons to be so employed shall be solely under the control and within discretion of the Board.

29. Her Majesty may, at the joint request of the employee and the Board, grant to any person employed in the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in or in connection with the residence who wishes to become an employee of the Board in or in connection with the residence leave of absence without pay and shall pay into the Superannuation Fund of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada during that period the employer's share of the contributions in respect of that person under the Superannuation Act (Canada).

30. The Board shall employ such care and maintenance staff as are required for the residence and shall pay them at least the equivalent of the minimum wage required by the laws of Canada to be paid to persons similarly employed.

31. The Board shall permit the Minister to inspect the residence and the books and accounts of the Board in respect thereof at any reasonable time.

32. The Board shall as long as this agreement remains in force, submit to Her Majesty as soon as practicable after each 1st day of October and after each 1st day of April a report setting out the name of each Indian child enrolled in the residence as of that 1st day of October or 1st day of April.

33. This agreement may be terminated by written notice by either party to the other at least one year before the date of termination.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen in right of Canada has hereunto set his hand and THE BLUE QUILLS NATIVE EDUCATION COUNCIL has hereunto affixed its corporate seal attested to by the hands of its proper officers duly authorized in that behalf.

SIGNED, SEALED AND DELIVERED)

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(Witness)

Minister of Indian Affairs
and Northern Development

THE BLUE QUILLS NATIVE EDUCATION COUNCIL

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APPENDIX

FACTORS TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN ADMITTING INDIAN CHILDREN TO THE RESIDENCE

1) an Indian child's home is so located that no school will be available to the child unless the child is admitted to the residence,

2) educational difficulties caused the child because the child is being neglected or ill-treated at home as neglect and ill-treatment are defined by the laws of Alberta,

3) the educational advantages the residence could offer a child who needs medical treatment which is available at the residence,

4) advantages to a child who needs a period of adjustment to urban life from living for a time in a residence with other children of similar culture.